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TRENDS IN MOSCOW'S TRAINING
OF
FOREIGN COMMUNISTS



August 1957

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TRENDS IN MOSCOW'S TRAINING OF FOREIGN COMMUNISTS

1. Introduction

One of the CPSU's earliest and most effective methods of exerting control and coordination over the International Communist Movement was through its indoctrination and training of foreign Communists. Thus, the training of foreign Communists within Party schools in the USSR has long been an integral and important part of the Communist movement. The greatest peak of such activity was reached during the Comintern period. After World War II there was an obvious curtailment in the number of foreign Communists who received special Party training in the Soviet Union, and contraction of the elaborate system of schools which had existed. A certain amount of training for foreign Communists continued to be carried out in the USSR—but on a much reduced scale.

At the present time there is evidence pointing to an expanding program of training Communists from other countries in Party schools within the USSR. While the evidence is not firm there is reason to believe that this expanding program may have commenced around the time of Stalin's death (1953)*. Within the last few years especially, an increasing number of foreign Communist functionaries have been traveling to the USSR for Party training.

The identities and selection of trainees, their travel patterns, the schools attended and the courses studied pose a difficult intelligence target. It is nonetheless an important one. The CPSU's apparent current interest in the training of foreign Communists probably reflects not only a desire to produce better Party activists and infuse the Communist movement with fresh enthusiasm, but also a deliberate attempt to foster loyalty

* Its inception, however, may have preceded this date. In February 1952, Stalin himself noted "the inadequate level of Marxist development of the majority of the Communist Parties in foreign countries" when he called for a new textbook of Marxist political economy.

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and subservience to the Soviet Party among the next generation of foreign Communist party leaders. There is also current evidence to suggest that, in a few instances, some Communist functionaries may be deliberately sent to study in the USSR in order that their own party leaders can in their absence better restore ideological unity within their party.

While this paper is concerned only with the trends of CPSU training, some comment is applicable about CP China in this connection. During 1956, for instance, CP China trained a considerable number of Latin American Communists who are not known to have received CPSU training. It is not yet apparent what relationship this training activity on the part of CP China has to the CPSU's training program for foreign Communists. It may be a normal division of labor, with the Chinese Communists handling particularly Communist trainees from underdeveloped countries. In the case of one Latin American CP, however, it is reliably reported that in late 1956 one of the highest-ranking leaders of the Party began his studies under CPSU direction in Moscow. On the other hand, training by both the CPSU and CP China is indicated in at least one case involving another very high-ranking leader of the same CP. Possibly the CPSU, as the leader of the international movement, will concentrate not only on the training of Communists from the advanced countries but also on the topmost leaders of CP's from underdeveloped areas. The situation with respect to China, however, is an important one to watch. Some Latin American Communists are reliably reported to have remarked that they found CP China's experience more applicable to Latin American countries than that of the CPSU.

2. Selection of Students

Whereas in the Satellites the dispatching of Communists to Soviet Party schools is more or less routine, within the CP's of the Free World the program of sending such trainees to the USSR varies considerably.

Satellites

Reliable defector and other information shows that a regular program exists whereby selected party functionaries from

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the Satellites are sent yearly to CPSU schools. There is also evidence that the schools of the Satellite CP's themselves are, in most instances, modeled so closely on the Soviet pattern that a student completing with some distinction a required number of years in one of the important training establishments of his own Party may—according to a prearranged program—move on to the parallel Soviet party school for "advanced" study.

While selection of a student by a Satellite CP obviously entails consideration of his known loyalty and proven ability, there is also reason to believe that Satellite parties are expected to send each year a significant "quota" of students to CPSU schools. Evidence suggests that the Satellite parties feel it incumbent on themselves not only to hold up their end of this program numerically, but also to prove to the CPSU, through proper selection of students for specific schools, their ideological and political astuteness. It is suspected, however, that often the emphasis is on quantity rather than quality in the selection of students.

Indicative of how this matter is handled by the Satellites is a 1955 document of one Satellite Party. According to this document, the Party Secretariat had as one of its tasks the "organizing and selection of students" for study in various CPSU establishments. This task included not only the composition of the student delegation, but also the determination of which ones should attend what schools and whether they should take a one-year course or a three-year course. The "responsible section" (presumably of the Central Committee apparatus) was listed as the Section of Leading Party Organs, which was the cadre section of the Party.

Other CP's

Without the uniform conditions which obtain in the Satellites, in other CP's the program of sending party functionaries to CPSU schools has been influenced by a variety of factors: the extent of the training program of the indigenous party itself; the general availability of trained leaders; the conditions of legality or circumscription under which the party operates; its financial ability to help underwrite transportation costs of students; its importance and potential both internally as well

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as in relation to other CP's; the dictates of specific party programs requiring greater specialized training; the desire to establish closer contacts with the CPSU; and many other factors. Both seasoned party functionaries as well as youthful, less experienced activists have been included in this program.

Available evidence pointing to an expanding training program for foreign Communists in the USSR relates largely to Western European and Western Hemisphere CP's, and, in several cases, appears to be the first program of any consequence since World War II. It is possible that an acceleration in such training is also taking place for CP's in the Middle and Far East, but there is little evidence available as yet to indicate this. With respect to Western Europe and the Western Hemisphere, however, current evidence shows that while both seasoned functionaries as well as youthful activists continue to be included in the training program, there appears to be a deliberate effort—and on a greater scale than heretofore—of sending to CPSU training establishments the rising generation of future party leaders. This evidence is strikingly similar in several widely separated countries.

From one country, for instance, nineteen party functionaries departed earlier this year to continue their Party training in the USSR. Of these, over ten were born in the middle or late 1920's. From another country, nine functionaries are presently receiving training in the USSR; of these, over seven were born in the middle or late 1920's. From still another country it is reliably reported that over twenty-five party activists are attending a special school in the USSR. They are believed to be in this same general age group. In yet another country, eight party functionaries are reliably reported to have returned after an extended period of training in the Soviet Union. Several of these returnees are known to hold positions of importance in the middle echelon of party leadership. In the case of two other countries, there is an interesting parallel in the reports that the son of a high party official in each country was among the youths selected to receive party training in the USSR. The selection of rising younger functionaries is apparent in other information relating to trainees scheduled to begin their training in the USSR this summer.

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Students attend short-term refresher courses as well as undergo long-term training. A six-week course (or "42-day course") is evidently attended by some of the better qualified foreign Communists whose stay in the USSR is thus of a comparatively short duration. The youthful or middle echelon Communists remain for longer periods, and are apparently selected for courses of specific duration before their departure. A course of one and a half years appears to be the most common, but reliable reports also show that there are courses of one-, two-, and three-year periods. One group of students from the same country may contain trainees scheduled for courses of varying lengths.

It is evident that the procedure followed in the selection of specific trainees for Soviet Party schools varies from country to country and even within the same country. Some trainees are chosen on the basis of their proven organizational skill in party work. Others are reportedly selected from among those who have progressed through the hierarchy of the sectional, provincial, inter-regional and national schools of their own party. Some find themselves at a CPSU school because it became prudent for them to leave their own country. Others, who hold positions of responsibility in their party, attend courses in the USSR in order to enhance both their skill and their prestige. Still others are believed to be the deliberate choice of present party leaders in order either to bolster their own position through the creation of a Moscow-trained cadre having a personal loyalty, or to rid themselves temporarily of functionaries causing party dissension.

While the bulk of evidence suggests that the actual selections of trainees are made by the foreign CP itself (with CPSU concurrence obtained afterwards), a report received earlier in 1957 referred specifically to an invitation which had been received by four youthful cadre workers in one country to attend a special party school in the USSR. It is not yet evident whether this indicates a new trend and the CPSU itself is beginning to exercise greater influence and control over the selection of foreign Communist trainees for Soviet Party schools. But such a development would be in line with a CPSU desire to reaffirm its supremacy over the Communist movement and to ensure the loyalty of the best and most active elements within the foreign CP's.

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3. Arrangements for Students

Evidence suggests that for the most part the foreign Communist trainees experience considerable isolation while attending Soviet Party schools. Although one report indicates very clearly that even after a stay of three years in the USSR, a returning trainee had a good knowledge of political and Party events which had taken place in his native country during his absence, this case may be unusual. Developing dissension in his Party at home caused his recall from the USSR in order that he could bolster the current Party leadership; obviously he had to be briefed about events, and this may have been simplified by the fact that in many of his courses in the USSR he was taught by members of his own party. In another case, that of a Satellite CP, it is known that the party leadership was disappointed to find its returning trainees out of touch with the facts of life in the country and by and large too theoretical, with little "contact with the workers."

Evidence about the physical isolation of the foreign Communist trainees in the USSR is more conclusive. Not only are they apparently removed from general contact with the Soviet community, they are also kept apart from visiting members of their own party—even those from their home town—whose Party business does not take them to the school. This situation may stem in part from the demanding regime of the schools themselves, but is more likely the result of the stringent security measures which have always characterized Communist training.

Little information is available about arrangements made to handle correspondence between the trainees and their families. Probably such arrangements are dictated by the situation of legality or circumscription in which the national party operates as well as the circumstances surrounding the individual trainee's travel and cover. One case is known where a mailing address was available to a trainee's family. Letters could be sent to him in his true name and addressed to a specific post office box (Pochtovyi Yashchik) in Moscow. In another case, reports indicate that no arrangements were made—the trainee, apparently on his own, sent letters home via fellow party members who were returning before he did. He is reliably reported to have received no correspondence from his family.

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Despite the isolation while in school, however, one very interesting trend has been apparent in the case of at least some Communist trainees from countries not too distant from the USSR. Some of the trainees are being returned to their own countries at regular intervals in order to enjoy a vacation. Several trainees from at least two countries are known to have returned home for a few weeks at Christmas time. Some are also known to have had summer holidays at home last year. Available information is not yet sufficient to conclude that this will be a general pattern, but for countries within easy flying time of Moscow it appears a likely possibility.

In the case of Communist trainees from countries too far removed from the USSR to make it feasible for them to return home for vacations, only one report is available to indicate holiday arrangements. It may, however, reflect the general procedure. According to this report, the students are given summer vacations at a resort in the Crimea.

Travel arrangements for trainees also vary according to party and individual. In one group of trainees from the same country, for instance, it is reported that some held proper passports with the required visas but that one or two in the group left the country without any documentation. In the case of some trainees from another country, it is reported that their passports were not valid for the USSR; they simply went on to the Soviet Union from the nearest country permitted by the passport and any Soviet/Satellite stamps or visas were provided for by loose cards rather than on the passport. In other cases the trainees travel quite openly and directly. It is obvious that infinite variations are practiced to effect the travel of various trainees. It is also obvious that the CPSU must underwrite a considerable portion of the over-all expenses involved.

Available evidence indicates that once within the USSR the trainee's passport is turned over to Soviet authorities and is returned to him only on his departure from the country. One case may be cited of the travel documentation provided for a returning trainee. When ready to leave the Soviet Union, he received back his passport which had been doctored to show visas and proper entry-exit stamps for various Western European countries as well as two return trips to his own country and a passport

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renewal—all this falsified by the Soviets in order to conceal his continuous stay in the USSR.

It might also be noted that in the case of certain trainees from several Latin American countries, it is reliably reported that these may frequently return to other than their native countries. This situation probably results from the fact that they cannot return to their own countries. It also attests to the Soviet ability to provide documentation enabling these individuals to enter and take up residence in countries other than their own.

4. Schools and Courses

In the great majority of cases it is impossible to determine the specific Party school in the USSR which is attended by any one individual trainee or group of Communists from other countries. Evidence is often vague and nomenclature confusing. Certain schools are known to exist and the presence of foreign Communists has been reported at each. It is also quite possible that there are other schools which have not yet been identified. At the present time, this subject can only be treated in terms which have general application.

Three training and research establishments of the CPSU are located in Moscow and are controlled directly by the CPSU's Central Committee. These are the Higher Party School, the Academy of Social Sciences, and the Institute of Marxism-Leninism. Foreign Communists have been reported at each. In addition, it has been reliably reported that a special school for foreign Communists is located in a suburb of Moscow called Pushkino (possibly also known as Pushkin or Pushkinskoye). Finally, training of foreign Communists from regions of the Middle East and Far East has been reported in cities in the USSR adjacent to these areas. The most persistently reported school of this sort is at Tashkent where Arab cadres are allegedly trained.

Confusion in the identification of Soviet schools appears to be due in part to the various names and descriptions given to the courses studied and also to the different lengths of time which may be involved. It is suspected that the programs of any

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one of the known Soviet schools is flexible enough to account for these factors.

Higher Party School

As the name implies, this school is the apex of the regular CPSU schooling system; it also includes establishments at lower divisions of the Party organization. It was established originally in 1939 and was reorganized in 1946. The rector of the school is still believed to be N.R. MITRONOV, although he was last identified in this position in 1955. For several years the address of the school has been: 6 Miusskaya Ploshchad, D-47, Moscow.

The chief purpose of the Higher Party School is the training of Party and Soviet administrators, as opposed to theoreticians. The training encompasses both ideological and political matters as well as practical courses which would be particularly useful to those responsible for Party and government administrative procedures and activities. It is undoubtedly for this reason that Satellite Communists in particular have been reported at this school, although reliable reports have also placed other foreign trainees at the Higher Party School. There is some reason to believe, however, that at least some of those non-Orbit Communists may have been attending certain special lectures at the school rather than participating in a regular course. It is possible, though no other evidence supports this, that a separate division exists in the school in order to handle specialized training for non-Orbit Communists.

While it is difficult to know to what extent the school's regulations are applicable to non-Soviet students, they may be useful in helping to pinpoint future identification of the school. According to an announcement made in 1956, for instance, the school has changed from a three-year to a two-year course of study. It was also announced that no entrance examinations are given for admission to this school. Students are admitted on the basis of recommendations by provincial, territorial or Central Committees within the union republic CP's. Students must not be over forty years of age, and must have had a higher education and experience in administrative, Party, Soviet or journalistic work.

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The following subjects were listed by the Large Soviet Encyclopedia of 1951 as those studied at the school: history of the CPSU; history of the USSR; general history; political economy; dialectical and historical materialism; logic; international relations and foreign policy of the USSR; economic and political geography; Russian language and literature; foreign language; foundations of the Soviet economy and the practical direction of the branches of the national economy; Party organization; State law and Soviet organization; and journalism for individual newspaper editors.

According to a defector report, some foreign Communists from non-Orbit parties attended certain lectures at the Higher Party School which covered not only world history but also military tactics, including guerrilla warfare. This is the only indication that courses of this sort might be given at the Higher Party School.

Academy of Social Sciences

This is the leading CPSU establishment for the training of theoreticians, and should not be confused with the USSR Academy of Sciences which is a state institution involved in scientific research in all fields. The purpose of the Academy of Social Sciences is to train theoreticians for work in central Party institutions, the Central Committees and other Committees within the union republic CP's, as well as for work in higher scientific establishments in the USSR. Although the Academy of Social Sciences was opened in 1946, it is actually a revival of the former Communist Academy which functioned in the 1920's and early 1930's.

Because of its importance as a Marxist institution, the Academy's instructors are high-ranking CPSU officials and the foremost theoreticians and propaganda specialists in the Soviet Union, including those in the social science sections of the Academy of Science. The Academy's present rector is believed to be Prof. (fnu) DOROKHOV who apparently succeeded F.V. KONSTANTINOV in this position in late 1955 when KONSTANTINOV became chief of the Agitprop Section of the Central Committee, CPSU. In 1956, the address of the Academy appeared as: Sadofaya-Kudrinskaya 9, Moscow.

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While there is reliable evidence to show that Satellite CP trainees are sent to the Academy of Social Sciences for study, there is no firm evidence to indicate that other foreign Communists are also trained there. Nevertheless, in view of the Academy's purpose and importance, it is felt that selected foreign Communists very probably do receive "advanced" theoretical training either in regular courses at the Academy or in special courses arranged specifically for the foreign students. When foreign Communists are reported to be receiving "advanced political instruction" in the USSR—and with no other indication as to school or course—they may well be enrolled at the Academy. Satellite Communists are sent on a regular basis, frequently coming directly from the Social Sciences school attached to their own parties.

The length of courses at the Academy has been variously described. Pravda in 1954 stated that the period of study was three years. Party Life in 1956 listed the term of study at four years. A report about Satellite students stated that they would study at the Academy for a period of five years. There may also be shorter, intensified courses related to certain current problems or trends affecting Marxist theory.

While it would not be expected that regulations affecting Soviet students would be particularly applicable to foreign Communists, they may reflect something more about the Academy. Soviet aspirants are considered from among those Party members, recommended by various committees in union republic CP's, who have been in the Party at least five years, who are not more than forty years of age, who have completed their higher education, had experience in Party work, research and training, and have published articles and pamphlets. Admission is handled on the basis of competitive examinations in which the aspirant may be queried in a field of his chosen specialty, the principles of Marxism-Leninism, and in a foreign language. He is also required to present an essay dealing with his selected speciality.

Although students apparently concentrate over the whole period on a single subject only, the Academy's curriculum is a wide one. Fields of study have been listed as: political economy; the economics and politics of foreign countries; theory of the state and law; international law; international relations; history of the USSR; history of the CPSU; world history; dialectical

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and historical materialism; Western European philosophy; logic; psychology; and literature and art. It has been reported that the Academy is broken down into two departments: a Department of History, which is concerned with Party History; and a Department of International Relations which prepares specialists in this field for central Party establishments, research institutions and work on theoretical publications.

Institute of Marxism-Leninism

It is more difficult to describe accurately this CPSU establishment. It is the Party's top research institution on the problems of Communism, and it has a long history. It was once called the Institute of Marx-Engels-Lenin (as a result of the merger of the Lenin Institute and the Marx-Engels Institute), and for a few years was called the Institute of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin. In 1956 its name was changed to its present one.

The Institute is publicized largely for its responsibility to collect, study and publish documents and historical materials pertaining to the founders of the Communist Party and to their leading continuers in the CPSU. Stress is laid on its "research" work into the history of the CPSU, but this work also includes the study of the history of the international workers' movement. The CPSU boasts that the Institute is unique in the world for its store of reading material on the history of Marxism and international socialist and Communist workers' movements. While its role as a research institute tends to confuse its status as a "training school", it apparently functions as both. Even before World War II it was reliably reported that through "research" work in the Institute, specialists were developed in various fields of political science—in the science and history of the class struggle in Russia and in various other countries of the world. In the mid-1930's, the Institute reportedly catered to foreigners on special recommendation.

Within the last few years, several reports have referred to foreign CP functionaries who have studied recently at the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, but these reports are of undetermined reliability. In one case, the secretary general of a CP was reported to have spent two months at the Institute attending "courses" which particularly stressed political, economic and

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social developments affecting his own area of the world. Reportedly this led, while still at the Institute, to the formulation of a new Party policy better designed to meet those developments. Other recent reports about the Institute have referred to courses concerned with organizational problems, youth movements, socialist legislation, mass agitation, infiltration tactics, etc. It is impossible to evaluate these reports on the basis of what is known about the Institute. It is suspected, however, that several reports may have confused the type of work done at the Institute of Marxism-Leninism with what was once taught at the International Lenin School during the Comintern period. Nevertheless, it is believed that foreign Communists do in fact study at the Institute.

Indicative of some of the work done by the Institute was the announcement earlier this year that the Institute would publish a new magazine, Problems of History of the CPSU (Voprosy istorii KPSS). The basic functions of the magazine were stated to be "to present scholarly treatment of problems of history of the CPSU, particularly of the period since the October revolution; to help teachers and propagandists in studying and teaching Party history in higher educational institutions and in the Party educational system; to review new literature on problems of Party history, and to elucidate the history of fraternal Communist and Workers' parties and the international workers' movement."

In 1952, the address of the Institute was listed as: 5 Ulitsa Marksa i Engel'sa, Kiyevskiy Rayon, Moscow. For several years the director has been G.D. OBICHKIN, and the deputy director STEPANOVA. The Chairman of the Division on History of the CPSU was identified in 1956 as M.D. STUCHEBNIKOVA. Two members of the research staff also identified in 1956 were LEVINA and ROMANOVA. The importance of the Institute to the CPSU is reflected in some of its previous directors. These have included M.B. MITIN, V.S. KHUZHKOV, and P.N. POSPELOV.

In addition to the Institute located in Moscow, the union republics and some territories in the USSR have branches of the Institute. In this connection, it should be noted that one report has stated that although the Institute of Marxism-Leninism in Moscow is the highest training establishment for members of one foreign CP, the next in importance is a branch

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of the Institute located in an area of the USSR closer to the specific foreign country.

Pushkino (or Pushkin or Pushkinskoye)

Recent information indicates that a special school for foreign Communist trainees from one non-Orbit CP is located in a suburb of Moscow called Pushkino. The location and other descriptions available of this school suggest that it may be the same establishment reported several times during the 1940's where foreign Communists received training. In the earlier reports it was generally called Pushkin. The location may be similar to that of Pushkinskoye, described as one of the locations of the Comintern for a brief time in the early 1940's.

The Pushkino school has no other specific address but reportedly is near a military airfield and is disguised as a convalescent home—a description similar to the "rest home" at Pushkin reported in 1943 as being actually a CP school for foreign trainees.

Although the Pushkino school is now reported to be used for Communist trainees from one country only, it apparently is equipped to handle a considerable number of students. Another interesting factor reported about this school is that some courses—possibly many—are taught by functionaries of the foreign CP to their fellow countrymen. Although some lectures are given by CPSU experts, the use of foreign instructors may stem in part from language considerations as well as the large number of trainees who are reportedly attending the school.

Recent information also indicates that the Pushkino establishment is administered by the staff of the Higher Party School. The courses of study apparently center on three main subjects: philosophy, political economy and history of the CPSU. According to a reliable source, the courses of study given at the Pushkino school are duplications of courses given to other foreign Communist trainees who may be attending the Higher Party School.

It has been reported that there has been some discontent among the trainees with certain aspects of the courses given

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at Pushkino. Discontent has centered on a feeling that the courses overstressed the CPSU and underemphasized the CP's of other countries. Reportedly, the curriculum is to be modified in this respect.

Other

On the basis of available information, it seems very possible that other establishments, similar to Pushkino, may exist for some other nationality groups. One source believed that, in addition to Pushkino, special courses for Communists from some countries are given at other schools, located in outlying areas, all of which are administered by the staff of the Higher Party School. These Communists would probably come from CP's having large memberships and a particularly active program of sending trainees to the Soviet Union. Without the same requirement for a special establishment, trainees from other CP's probably attend regular training establishments, such as the Higher Party School.

Reports are often so vague and confusing that it has not been possible to identify specifically any other schools where foreign Communists may be receiving special Party training within the USSR. References to an Institute of Communist Studies, a Study Center, a Lenin Academy, a Karl Marx School, a Lenin Institute and a "special Party school" are but some of the various names received in reports. They may refer to some of the establishments discussed above or they may refer to schools which it has not yet been possible to identify.

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APPENDIX A

(Subjects covered in a recent course
in the history of the labor movement
given to foreign Communists in the
USSR)

THE INDUSTRIAL WORKER MOVEMENT

THE FORMATION OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKER CLASS AND THE BEGINNING
OF ITS STRUGGLE FOR CLASS INTERESTS
The formation of the proletariat

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE TWO ASPECTS OF THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

THIRD LESSON

Brief characterization of the Utopian socialists
Saint Simon's concepts
Fourier's concepts

THE CARTISTA MOVEMENT

ROBERT OWEN (1771-1851)

THE ORIGIN OF SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM. THE EARLY YEARS OF MARX
AND ENGELS' REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITY.

THE ROLE OF THE PROLETARIAT IN EUROPEAN REVOLUTIONS DURING 1848-
1849

The 1848 revolution in France

The 1848-1849 revolution in Germany

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THE INTERNATIONAL INDUSTRIAL WORKERS MOVEMENT IN THE FIFTIES AND SIXTIES OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY AND THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL
Brief characterization of the economic and political conditions during the fifties and sixties, especially in Europe.
The industrial worker movement in England during the fifties and sixties of the nineteenth century.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE ENGLISH TRADE UNIONS

THE INDUSTRIAL WORKER MOVEMENT IN FRANCE DURING THE FIFTIES AND SIXTIES.

HOW THE INDUSTRIAL WORKER MOVEMENT IN GERMANY PROCEEDED

CHARACTERISTICS OF THESE DOCUMENTS /The Manifesto or political program and the Statutes/

The activity of the International up to 1870

THE PARIS COMMUNE
Causes of the Paris Commune
Marx' stand regarding the Paris Commune
The final period of activity of the International

THE INTERNATIONAL INDUSTRIAL WORKER MOVEMENT FROM 1870 to 1917
Brief characterization of the period
The industrial worker movement in England from 1870 to 1917
The English industrial worker movement in the years preceding WW I.

ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKER MOVEMENT IN THE U.S.A. BEFORE WW I.
Industrial worker organizations in the U.S.A.
Points common to the American and the English industrial worker movement.

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Special characteristics of the French industrial worker movement during the period from 1871 to 1917
Certain facts and stages of the French industrial worker movement.

Special characteristics of the German industrial worker movement during the period from 1870 to 1914

SPECIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE RUSSIAN INDUSTRIAL WORKER MOVEMENT

The influence of the revolution in Russia in 1905 on the international revolutionary movement.

THE CREATION, DEVELOPMENT, AND BANKRUPTCY OF THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL

THE SIGNIFICANCE IN WORLD HISTORY OF THE GREAT SOCIALIST OCTOBER REVOLUTION

The influence of the Great Socialist October Revolution on the world industrial worker movement.

INFLUENCE OF THE SOCIALIST OCTOBER REVOLUTION ON THE INTERNATIONAL LABOR UNION MOVEMENT.

THE INDUSTRIAL WORKER MOVEMENT IN GERMANY DURING THE FIRST STAGE OF THE GENERAL CRISIS OF CAPITALISM.

The labor union movement

Revolutionary demonstrations by the German proletariat in 1919, 1921, and 1923.

The German Communist Party tactics.

Experiences gained by the events in January.

THE INDUSTRIAL WORKER MOVEMENT IN ITALY DURING THE FIRST STAGE OF THE GENERAL CRISIS OF CAPITALISM

The economic and political conditions in Italy after WW I.

THE INDUSTRIAL WORKER MOVEMENT IN FRANCE DURING THE FIRST STAGE OF THE GENERAL CRISIS OF CAPITALISM

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THE 1918-1923 PERIOD OF REVOLUTIONARY GAINS

STRUGGLE FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKER AND POPULAR UNITED FRONT IN FRANCE

The basis on which the Popular Front was established and its consequences.

THE INDUSTRIAL WORKER MOVEMENT OF ENGLAND DURING THE FIRST STAGE OF THE GENERAL CRISIS OF CAPITALISM

THE INDUSTRIAL WORKER MOVEMENT IN THE U.S.A. DURING THE FIRST STAGE OF THE GENERAL CRISIS OF CAPITALISM

THE INDUSTRIAL WORKER MOVEMENT AND THE NATIONAL LIBERATION OF CHINA

(First stage of the general crisis of capitalism)

The economic and political conditions in China after WW I
Political regime of China (1911 and 1912)

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY

THE EVENTS OF FEBRUARY 1923

History of the Communist International

Second congress of the Communist International

Lenin thesis on the agrarian problem

Sixth congress of the Communist International and the program of the C. I.

The struggle of the Communist International for the popular united front—

The seventh congress of the Communist International.

THE INTERNATIONAL INDUSTRIAL WORKER MOVEMENT DURING WW II

THE STRUGGLE FOR UNITY IN THE INTERNATIONAL INDUSTRIAL WORKER MOVEMENT

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THE STRUGGLE FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE WORLD FEDERATION OF
TRADE UNIONS—OR THE STRUGGLE FOR UNITY OF THE INTERNATIONAL
INDUSTRIAL WORKER MOVEMENT

Preparation and holding of the World Trade Union Congress in
Paris.

THE SESSION OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE WORLD FEDERATION OF
TRADE UNIONS

THE ROLE OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKER CLASS IN THE ESTABLISHMENT
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FOUNDATIONS OF SOCIALISM IN EAST EUROPE AND EAST (word un-
intelligible)

The Peoples Republic of China

The Communist Party of China

THE INDUSTRIAL WORKER MOVEMENT IN ENGLAND DURING THE SECOND STAGE
OF THE GENERAL CRISIS OF CAPITALISM

Conditions of the industrial worker class after WW II

CONDITIONS OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKER CLASS

CURRENT ACTIVITIES OF THE ENGLISH COMMUNIST PARTY

The industrial worker movement in the U.S.A. after the War.

THE INDUSTRIAL WORKER MOVEMENT IN FRANCE DURING THE SECOND STAGE
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THE ITALIAN WORKER MOVEMENT DURING THE SECOND STAGE OF THE GENERAL
CRISIS OF CAPITALISM

THE STRUGGLE FOR UNITY IN THE INTERNATIONAL WORKER MOVEMENT

Changes within the industrial worker class

Conditions of the worker class in capitalist countries

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CHARACTERISTICS OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT AFTER
WW II

INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST ORGANIZATIONS

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT
The influence of the socialist parties of Europe

THE STRUGGLE FOR UNITY IN THE INTERNATIONAL LABOR UNION
MOVEMENT

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APPENDIX B

(Portions of the text utilized during the course in the history of the labor movement and disseminated to the foreign Communist trainees)
[The translation is presented as received, except for the correction of misspellings]

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT AFTER WORLD WAR II

That period is characterized by a considerable reinforcement of that movement: Before the war there were 43 CP's in 43 countries, the CPSU among them with 4,202,000 members (minus those of the USSR there were 1,724,000 members). By the end of the war there were already 76 CP's in that number of countries consisting of almost 20 million militant members. At present, the number of CP's is the same but with almost 30 million Communists of which 25 million are in the nations of the socialist field (including the Yugoslav Union of Communists). The CP's of the capitalist nations consist of slightly more than 3 millions and the colonial and dependent nations have a little more than one million and one-half.

This illustrates the development of the International Communist Movement which should be taken into account that in the several capitalist nations, since the war, the number of CP members has lessened as compared to the end of the war period. The reduction of the number of members took place in 11 nations of Western Europe. Only in Italy has the CP maintained the increased number of its members. These losses are due to a series of causes. The largest CP in a capitalist country is the Italian CP, next is that of Indonesia consisting of 1.5 million members and sympathizers (similar to the candidates [to Party membership]; they are the vast majority but the reactionary [governments] persecute both the members and the sympathizers in the same way).

During this period, the majority of the CP's greatly strengthened themselves in the organic and ideological sense.

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A considerable number of CP's reviewed their programs, adopted new ones, and took into account the new conditions of the world and in their respective countries. However, all the CP's did not go through that postwar period without making errors. For example, the CPUSA went through a crisis during this period as a result of which the Party was almost liquidated. In Japan during the post-war years, there was also a serious crisis in the CP, resulting in a Party scission. At present, during the last two years, the Japanese Communist Party has consolidated itself a great deal, organically and ideologically.

The CP's of the capitalist nations operate since after the war with much more difficulty than previously. For example, the CP of India operates under new complex conditions: a group of Party members was and is in favor of full support of the Nehru policy. A short time ago, the CPI was completely and entirely opposed to Nehru, calling him an "imperialist agent, a traitor", etc. This stand is reflected in the CPI Program. At present, some comrades go to the opposite extreme. But the majority of the Communists take a better stand: support the government with reservations. For example, support the foreign policy of the government (which can be supported almost without reservations); but as to the domestic policy, this support should not be complete. Support the government measures which are beneficial to the masses: the building of the social economy and for example, the communal agricultural economy, the creation of large state industry, the limitation of the role of foreign capital, etc. Is it that the domestic policy of the government should be supported without reservations? At first glance, these reservations seem superfluous but Nehru says he is a socialist. But what kind of socialism is it? Nehru is a representative of the large Hindu national bourgeoisie. And the policy of his government doubtlessly expresses the interest of that bureaucracy. But, for example, what is Nehru's stand toward the CPI? He considers the CP to be the most reactionary one of India because they are tied to ideas which arose in Europe and for the Europe of a hundred years ago. Even for Europe those ideas are antiquated, but for India these ideas are entirely inapplicable. The Nehru regime has created a series of laws against the workers: for example, one of the laws authorizes the police to arrest any person without making any previous investigation. Another law, concerning the press, makes every person opposing the government

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subject to a trial in court.

Nehru is following a policy of salary freezing which is in fact an actual salary reduction. During the war years and after, the cost of living has risen to three or four times that of the past but the salaries have been barely raised by 20 percent.

Let us consider the matter of the agrarian reform in India. It has already dragged for 10 years, beginning essentially with the Nehru government, but still 20 percent of the fallow lands remain in the hands of latifundia owners, and the lands expropriated from the latifundia owners pass into the hands of wealthy peasants. Such a reform is clearly of a capitalist nature. This agrarian policy cannot be supported without reservations.

Let us consider certain administrative measures. There used to be 500 principalities in India headed by feudal maharajas. Now these principalities were liquidated and their territories were converted into provinces. This is a progressive phenomenon but the provinces continue to be headed by the princes. Thus the step taken by the government barely restricts to a certain degree the rights of this princes. Thus, the CPI tactics must be very flexible. We must support without disguise the progressive measures of the Nehru government but we must also explain to the masses the measures against their interests. This is difficult to do since the Nehru government and the National Congress Party has much influence over the masses.

The CPI has about 100,000 members. Its influence is much less than that of Nehru's party but it is precisely on this plane that the Party should apply its line.

At present, the Party is correcting a series of mistakes it had made and increases its influence.

In several countries, there isn't a CP yet. In others there are several of them. In Egypt, there are five CP's but neither of them can consider itself a national organization. In Burma there are two but there is a continuous struggle between them. This is almost at the point of armed warfare... At present, they seem to be moving toward fusing. Under these conditions the

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government is free to carry out any policy.

INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST ORGANIZATIONS

The comintern was dissolved in 1943. In 1947, the cominform was established. It consisted of the Popular Democracies' parties and of some capitalist countries' parties. The objectives of that organization are defined by its name. It was not a directing organ but one for the exchange of experiences and information between the Communist and workers' parties and to co-ordinate to a certain extent their activities. There were three sessions of the bureau: 1947, 1948, and 1949. These sessions play an important role in the carrying out of the task set before the bureau. But the bureau made an error concerning the Yugoslav CP.

The resolution regarding the Yugoslav CP which was adopted in 1948, was in general correct in regard to the CP's errors in the fields of domestic policy, economic policy, etc. of the Party. However, it was wrong to expel the Yugoslav CP. By 1949, the resolution on the Yugoslav CP was completely wrong in that it called the leadership of the CP murderers, imperialist agents, and so forth. Such resolutions not only did not help the CP to correct its mistakes but made them worse. These resolutions were repealed by the CP and Workers' Parties which adopted them.

Now, the bureau no longer exists but this does not mean that the exchange of experiences between the CP's had stopped or that there is no co-ordination among the CP's. For example, at the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU, fifty CP delegations attended. Obviously, the delegates did not just come to attend the Congress; they exchanged opinions and information. There were other means of exchanging opinions, experiences, etc.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT

Unfortunately in several capitalist countries, there are socialist parties alongside of the CP's. In some countries they are very influential. At present, the Socialist International brings together 10 million members of the Socialist Parties and

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the Social Democrats (of which six million are of the English Labor Party). It is made up of 36 parties; 24 of them are European. In Asia there is another organization of the socialist parties. In 1953, the Asiatic Socialist Conference was held, attended by delegates from 11 countries. The socialist parties have 10 million members. However, there does not exist unity of action between the Socialist International and the Asiatic Socialist parties' organization.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE SOCIALIST PARTIES IN EUROPE

Let us see by comparing the influence of the CP's and the socialist parties in Europe in parliamentary elections and the parliaments.

<u>Nation</u>	<u>Communist Deputies</u>	<u>Socialist Deputies</u>
France	151	94
Italy	143 + 75 (Nenni)	19 (Saragatti)
England	0	274
West Germany	0	151
Belgium	6	158
Holland	9	44
Austria	4	73
Finland	43	54

As can be seen, relationship with the social democrats is very important. Besides, in several nations, the socialists participate or head the governments: France, Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, Austria, Denmark, Norway, Finland and others.

The socialist parties have an international organization: already toward the end of the war (1944) an effort was made at the initiative of the laborites, to bring about a rebirth of the former Socialist International. In that year a Conference was held at which it was decided to begin the preparatory work to that end. In June 1946, a Conference of 19 socialist parties was held in England which established the Liaison and Information Bureau. Thus, after the war, the socialists were the first to establish an international organization and this was formed while there was no Communist organization. That same year, 1946, at

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another conference a resolution was passed by which the Bureau's name was changed to Advisory Committee. In 1947 at the socialist party conference, the Advisory Committee was replaced by the International Socialist Conference Committee. This Committee may be characterized as divisionist due to its activities. For example, due to their collaboration with the CP's, the Socialist Party of Poland, the Social Democrats of Czechoslovakia, and the Nenni Italian Socialist Party were excluded from the Committee.

On the basis of the Committee, the Socialist International was established in 1951. In the Statutes there is stated that the organization aims at insuring "that all the people will have the right to determine the economic destiny and to create a society in which free men will work together as equals". The Statutes define as follows, "Socialism is the movement in protest against the evils of capitalism." The Program and the Statutes provide for the peaceful incorporation of capitalism into socialism.

An important event in the development of the socialist movement was the Asiatic Socialist Conference. It met in January 1953 with representatives of socialist parties from 11 nations: India, Pakistan, Malaya, Indonesia, Japan, etc. The delegation of the Socialist International was headed by Attlee. These colleagues of the Socialist International planned to guide the work of the Conference along the lines of the Socialist International. If before WW II, the Socialist International leaders ignored the socialist and workers' movement in the colonial and dependent nations, now they aimed at placing it in a subordinate position.

But the opinions of the Asiatic socialists were in conflict with those of the Socialist International. The Asiatic socialists refused to support any of the existing military coups. They condemned racial discrimination, the repressive English colonial policy. They pronounced themselves in support of the agrarian reform, and the Conference established its own Asiatic Bureau and decided not to adhere to the Socialist International. Thus there is not unity of action between the European and Asiatic socialists. Likewise, there is not unity of action on numerous matters within the Socialist International itself. The leaders of certain socialist parties express their opposition to the

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Socialist International Statutes and tactics and act accordingly. For example, the Statutes of the French Socialist Party state that it is a revolutionary party, that the party takes upon itself the task of struggling for socialism; the statutes state openly that the aim of the party is to liquidate capitalist property. It is true that the statutes do not recognize the necessity of the dictatorship of the proletariat nor the leading role of the proletariat in these socialist transformations. However, the statutes of the French Socialist Party adopted in 1954 are very different from those of the Socialist International.

There are other international socialist organizations: the World Zionist Socialist Party, consisting of 125,000 members; the Socialist International Organization of Jews (similar to the Bund) consisting of 25,000 members, which drafts its minutes in Hebrew; the Socialist Union of Central and Western Europe, consisting of emigrants from popular democratic countries, makes a lot of noise as the only means of getting on the spy and divisionist market etc.

THE STRUGGLE FOR UNITY OF THE INTERNATIONAL LABOR UNION MOVEMENT

Toward the end of WW II, the organized unity of the international labor union movement was achieved by the establishment in October 1945 of the World Federation of Trade Unions. The WFTU brought together its members without regard to race, nationality and so forth. It was made up of industrial workers of different tendencies. It united the majority of the world's organized workers. There were about 67 million members in October 1945. Only the A.F. of L., of the large labor union organizations, did not belong to the WFTU.

However, this did not mean that the establishment of the WFTU ended the need to struggle for unity of the international movement.

The A.F. of L. remained outside and its reactionary leaders did everything to divide the WFTU in conjunction with the British Trade Union Congress leaders so as to create a split within the WFTU. They attempted to put under their influence

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the progressive labor union organizations by forcing them out of the WFTU. They did likewise to split the labor union movement in the countries where it was unified.

Thus, the struggle for unity of the international labor union movement continued being a vital problem even after the establishment of the WFTU.

Meanwhile, the danger would not have been so great, if the threat of a split was made just by the A.F. of L. leaders. The danger was that the threat also came from within the WFTU.

How did this danger manifest itself? Why did the reactionary leaders of the CIO and of the Trade Unions join the WFTU? We have already seen: (1) under pressure from the masses (2) They thought it was possible to control the WFTU and lead it along the path that they wished. However, from the founding of the WFTU, the main role was that of the progressive forces. Then the reactionary CIO and Trade Union leaders, instead of giving up its objectives, they proceeded to carry on a policy of sabotage and two-faced conduct within the WFTU. They discussed and voted on the resolutions but did not carry them out. For example, after the Paris Congress and after the election of executive organs, the WFTU apparatus had to be organized: typists and so forth. The delegations had already left. Few remained in Paris. Citrine, the president of the WFTU, told Saillant not to employ the officers until he had examined the list of their names. They sent the list from London to Citrine. A month sent by and no reply arrived. Mail accumulated. Saillant went to London but he was detained for a month by Citrine. In addition, the Statutes of the WFTU contains a provision calling for the organization of trade departments annexed to the WFTU (textile workers, railroad workers, metal workers and so forth—the Professional Department). The organization of these professional departments should have put an end to the International Trade Secretariats' activities. In the task of carrying on the negotiations with the secretariats, Schevenels and Citrine did everything to prevent the establishment of the professional departments. This negotiation went on up to 1947. The longer the negotiations lasted, the more insolent the international secretariats became. Finally they proposed that they should have total independence from the professional departments regarding the executive organs of the

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WFTU so that these organs could not influence the designation of the directors of these departments. The assets should be supplied by the WFTU but not controlled by it.

But the Soviets, the French and Italians agreed to such proposals. The two secretariats were amazed. It was a complete surprise and they finally went back on their proposals. In fact, they wanted a split. Next, the Congress of Paris decided to establish the department for colonial and dependent countries annexed to the WFTU. Braught, the CIO representative who was one of the vice-secretary generals of the WFTU, was designated to head it. He did not even leave Washington and up to 1948 the Department was not organized.

Another example: the Paris Congress resolved that a labor union conference of the Asiatic nations should be called and up to 1949 this remained just on paper due to the reactionary leaders of the CIO and the TUC. Another example: the WFTU decided to unify the German labor union movement but the reactionary leaders of the CIO and the TUC frustrated this effort.

The policy of sabotage and two-faced conduct went on until October 1947. At this point, American Imperialism passed over to open activity for achieving its plans for world domination and the world reactionary groups started the open offensive against the progressive forces. In May 1947, the Communists were expelled from the governments in France and Italy. The agents of bureaucracy intensified their activity. An effort was made to split the CGT, the Italian labor union movement. The same was the case in Mexico and Latin America. Under these circumstances, the reactionary elements within the WFTU also became active.

In October 1947 a regular executive bureau of the WFTU was set up in Paris. Here Carey, the CIO representative proposed that the Bureau should approve the Marshall Plan as a philanthropic American enterprise but the majority of the members of the Bureau rejected this proposal. But the representative of the TUC did not give his enthusiastic individual support which displeased his American masters.

In December 1947, a secret conference was held in Washington with representatives of the State Department, the

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A.F. of L. and the (British) Foreign Office (headed by Ernest Bevin). At this Conference, a detailed plan for the splitting of the labor union movement was prepared. Immediately after the conference, the TUC general council demanded the calling of an extraordinary session of the Executive Bureau of the Executive Council of the WFTU to approve the Marshall Plan.

The representatives of the Soviet, French and Italian labor unions pointed out that in April 1948 a regular session of these organs was to be held. However, the divisionists of the CIO and the TUC, together with those of the A.F. of L. held in March 1948 at London the International Conference of Labor Unions. By then 16 nations had accepted the Marshall Plan. Only the labor union representatives of these countries and the representatives who approved the plan were invited to the Conference. For example, in France the CGT was not invited; just the Force Ouvriere.

This so-called international conference was of a secret nature. It elected the so-called Co-ordination Committee to co-ordinate the activities of the participating labor unions. It was called without the consent of the WFTU and outside of its framework. In fact, its objective was to establish the bases of the new organization that opposed the WFTU, increasing the division within the international labor union movement. In addition to calling the Conference, the reactionary leaders attempted to influence the Soviet labor union leaders. On 20 February and at the beginning of March, Carey of the CIO was in Moscow. What for? (1) to supply the bureaucratic press with material showing that the USSR and the Soviet labor unions obstructed the American efforts to help the nations which suffered during the last war. (2) To attempt to persuade the All Union Central Council of Trade Unions to approve the Marshall Plan. (3) To attempt to reach an agreement with the All Union Central Council of Trade Unions on the changes of the WFTU leadership beginning with the replacement of Louis Saillant. There were two days of interviews. Obviously, he did not succeed in convincing the leaders with the All Union Central Council of Trade Unions. He assumed that after this failure to agree, he would return to the USA and open an anti-Soviet campaign. The All Union Central Council of Trade Unions sent a document stating the stand of the Council concerning the Marshall Plan (on his third or fourth day in Moscow.) It

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was an important political document describing the Marshall Plan—it aimed at submitting to the USA, the nations that would "help". It said that the USSR did not object to government help. It favored help which would not imply economic and political submission of the helped countries. Besides this, it said that the All Union Central Council of Trade Unions did not object to the discussion of the Marshall Plan at the WFTU but it could not be imposed by force on this organization; that the Marshall Plan should not be a pretext to split the WFTU. The statement was very helpful for unmasking the Marshall Plan.

In addition to this defeat of Carey in his negotiations with the All Union Central Council of Trade Unions, he tested the ground for the replacement of Saillant. He asserted that the Secretary General of the WFTU should belong to one of the large powers and that France was no longer one of them. Only the other three remained: United States, USSR and England. To agree to this proposal would mean that the English or the Americans would elect their representative against the USSR. With this post in their hands they would then take over the rest.

But the Soviets told him that France was still a great power so Carey suffered another defeat.

In April and May 1948, the regular session of the Bureau and the Executive Committee of the WFTU were held. Here again a new attempt was made to modify the executive organs of the WFTU. Saillant was again attacked. They called for his replacement. Second, they brought up the matter of Leon Jouhaux, a vice-president of the WFTU who as a member of the CGT left the CGT and established the Force Ouvriere. According to the Statutes this was wrong and the CGT presented as candidate Alain le Leap. The representatives of the English and American labor unions wanted to keep Jouhaux but as a representative of the Force Ouvriere. Third, the Toledano affair was also brought up. His elimination from the Executive Bureau was demanded by the English and Americans.

They wanted key posts on the directing organs. These efforts failed. The resolutions taken by the sections of the Bureau and the Executive Committee were of a progressive nature. At the final session, the Anglo-Americans voted together with

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the progressive leaders. They passed to an open break. In September 1948, was the regular session of the Executive Bureau. Only six members appeared—USSR, France, Italy, England, the United States and Holland. Absences. Heated discussions on the matter. Arthur Deakin and Carey did everything to slander the USSR and the Popular Democracies. The voting was always three against three. They only achieved the postponement of the matters until the next session. Only one resolution was passed unanimously: the payment of the living allowance to the members of the Bureau during their work.

This showed that they followed the road to the split.

In January 1949 in Paris regular session of the Executive Bureau—seven representatives. The seventh was from China (Communist). Now 4 to 3. At this session, Deakin presented a proposal to the General Council of the TUC that the WFTU should end its activities. It should not call meetings of the executive organs of the WFTU and should dismiss the officers. The documents and funds should be delivered to a Committee of Trustees. Within a year, the Committee should decide if the WFTU should or not be buried.

Deakin justified himself as follows: The WFTU expresses itself on matters which do not concern it. It is a branch of the Cominform. The Communists control it. Soviet labor unions have a dictatorship. The CIO and the Dutch supported the proposal. The others opposed it.

Kuznetsov refuted Deakin's arguments. He showed causes why the WFTU could not work to its full capacity and what obstructed its activity. The statement showed that they were underhand activities of the Anglo-Americans. The statement said: how could 6 or 7 persons decide on an organization established by the representatives of millions. And they proposed to deal with this at the session of the Executive Committee of the General Council, including the World labor union congress. This proposal was supported by Divittorio, Saillant and Lu-ni-Si (sic) but Deakin said that if its proposals were not approved, he would withdraw from the WFTU. Thus the WFTU split from which there broke off the English labor unions, the CIO and the Dutch reformist labor unions. Later they were followed by organizations of other

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nations. Obviously the division of the WFTU was a serious defeat for the international proletariat. At the same time, the departure of the divisionists favored the WFTU activity. The WFTU became more cohesive and active. The divisionists thought that when they left, the Executive Bureau would be disorganized. But le Leap entered into this. A session of the Executive Committee was also called.

The most important resolutions passed by the Bureau and by the Executive Committee after the session and the most important measures were first, after January 1949, the WFTU began to participate more actively in the preparation of World Congress of Peace Partisans. The WFTU activity in this field was in the field of statements—Now the active participation in all preparatory committees of the Congress of Peace Partisans: Second, finally, the problem of admission of new members was solved. The labor unions of Japan, Ceylon, East Germany and others joined the WFTU. Third, the WFTU began to organize in a practical manner the professional departments. Fourth, the calling of the Second World Congress of Labor Unions in Milan was made possible. It was a struggle for Peace. Several resolutions were passed for the active participation of the WFTU in the struggle for peace, the commemoration of the struggle for peace day, organization of the peace committees in the enterprises, and so forth.

All the subsequent activities of the WFTU were directed at this purpose: the defense of peace. The present reduction of international tension is to a great extent due to the activity of the WFTU. The second Congress struggled for unity of the world labor union movement.

Especially since the Second Congress the Anglo-American labor union leaders attempted by different means to organize their own international organization. In December 1949 they achieved this. It is the ICFTU. Why free? Free from Communism... but not from imperialism.

It is directed by markedly reactionary Americans. According to the figures provided by this organization, it has 54,000,000 members. The largest organizations are the A.F. of L., the CIO and the TUC which have millions of members. Next come the Belgians, Canadians, Australians, and so forth which

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have hundreds of thousands. It is convenient to point out that it does not reflect that to which the mass of its members aspire. Its leaders, in spite of the aspirations of the masses of the members, engage in a reactionary policy: support of the anti-Communist, anti-Soviet military blocs and of active support of internal reactionary policy of the several governments.

Within the ICFTU a sharp clash between the various tendencies took place. In 1955 the ICFTU held a congress. The American press said that the congress was held under the anti-Communist sign. The hero of the Congress was Meany, the anti-Communist president of the A.F. of L. Meanwhile, the anti-Communist resolutions passed by the congress caused dissatisfaction among various member organizations. For example, the central organ of the Belgian Socialist Party severely criticized the anti-Communist policy of the ICFTU. It wrote, "We will not permit the use of our labor union organizations in behalf of military blocs under the anti-Communist heading." The same stand was taken by Hindu labor union leaders, members of the ICFTU. This was also so in other countries. The ICFTU leaders reject all proposals for unity of action of the WFTU.

At present there exists another international organization: the International Confederation of Christian Trade Unions. It is small and is influential in Italy, France, Belgium and a few other countries. Outside of Europe, it has little influence although it is striving to establish a base among Catholic workers, especially in the USA.

It has ties with the Vatican.

One of the most important events in the history of the WFTU has the holding in November 1949 of the labor union conference of Asiatic nations at which were delegations representing Asia and Oceania. There were also many African representatives. The conference played an important role in the development of the Asiatic labor union movement. The delegates exchanged experiences and learned of the experiences of the labor union movement in China and the USSR.

According to the delegates themselves, they learned a great deal at the conference.

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At the conference was established the Liaison Bureau between the Asiatic organizations and those of the WFTU.

A similar conference was organized in Dakar. There also, a similar Liaison Bureau was established. These conferences and all the WFTU activities for the fostering of the labor union movement of colonial and dependent nations greatly promoted the development of the labor union movement in these nations.

In Latin America, the functions of Liaison Bureau are exercised by the CTAL.

The Third World Labor Union Congress met in October 1953, in Vienna. The importance of this congress is that important theoretical matters were taken up in the resolutions. In the reports by Saillant and by Divittorio, the following theoretical matters were taken up: the proletariat cannot limit itself to the struggle for the immediate interests of its own class. It should act in defense of the interests of other classes, the peasants and the intermediary layers of society. The labor union work should assume a general popular nature. In the struggle for national independence and for peace, the proletariat may side with the national bourgeoisie. However, the struggle of the proletariat for the interests of all the people should be based on the alliance between the industrial workers class and the peasant class. The report by Divittorio emphasized repeatedly the idea that the proletariat should have a leading role in this movement of all the people. In the discussion of the subject on the conditions of the labor union movement in colonial and dependent nations, the Congress took practical steps to help this movement. And the above-mentioned theoretical thesis should provide the base for that movement.

The Congress assigned to its executive organs the preparing the labor union bill of rights. This program—the bill of rights—was prepared after the Congress by the Executive Committee and the General Council of the WFTU. In fact, this program is a program for the struggle for democratic rights: (1) the rights of the workers to establish their own labor union, co-operatives, and political organizations; the right of industrial workers to have their own labor unions; the right to represent the industrial workers in the enterprises. (3)

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the right to strike (4) the right of assembly in the factories and enterprises (5) the right of the labor unions to engage in international activities. Besides these there were other demands.

This program is the program for struggling against the attack by anti-labor union reactionary forces.

The most important current problem of the labor union movement is the unity of the international labor union movement. The main road is the struggle from below for unity on the national level. This, obviously, does not exclude unity on the international scale; that is, from above. But, up to now, there have not been positive results in the struggle for that unity due to the resistance by the IOFTU leaders and the International Confederation of Christian Trade Unions. IFCTU.

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BRIEFS ON INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM

1957

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TRENDS IN MOSCOW'S TRAINING

of

FOREIGN COMMUNISTS

August 1957

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TRENDS IN MOSCOW'S TRAINING OF FOREIGN COMMUNISTS

1. Introduction

One of the CPSU's earliest and most effective methods of exerting control and coordination over the International Communist Movement was through its indoctrination and training of foreign Communists. Thus, the training of foreign Communists within Party schools in the USSR has long been an integral and important part of the Communist movement. The greatest peak of such activity was reached during the Comintern period. After World War II there was an obvious curtailment in the number of foreign Communists who received special Party training in the Soviet Union, and contraction of the elaborate system of schools which had existed. A certain amount of training for foreign Communists continued to be carried out in the USSR—but on a much reduced scale.

At the present time there is evidence pointing to an expanding program of training Communists from other countries in Party schools within the USSR. While the evidence is not firm there is reason to believe that this expanding program may have commenced around the time of Stalin's death (1953)*. Within the last few years especially, an increasing number of foreign Communist functionaries have been traveling to the USSR for Party training.

The identities and selection of trainees, their travel patterns, the schools attended and the courses studied pose a difficult intelligence target. It is nonetheless an important one. The CPSU's apparent current interest in the training of foreign Communists probably reflects not only a desire to produce better Party activists and infuse the Communist movement with fresh enthusiasm, but also a deliberate attempt to foster loyalty

* Its inception, however, may have preceded this date. In February 1952, Stalin himself noted "the inadequate level of Marxist development of the majority of the Communist Parties in foreign countries" when he called for a new textbook of Marxist political economy.

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and subservience to the Soviet Party among the next generation of foreign Communist party leaders. There is also current evidence to suggest that, in a few instances, some Communist functionaries may be deliberately sent to study in the USSR in order that their own party leaders can in their absence better restore ideological unity within their party.

While this paper is concerned only with the trends of CPSU training, some comment is applicable about CP China in this connection. During 1956, for instance, CP China trained a considerable number of Latin American Communists who are not known to have received CPSU training. It is not yet apparent what relationship this training activity on the part of CP China has to the CPSU's training program for foreign Communists. It may be a normal division of labor, with the Chinese Communists handling particularly Communist trainees from underdeveloped countries. In the case of one Latin American CP, however, it is reliably reported that in late 1956 one of the highest-ranking leaders of the Party began his studies under CPSU direction in Moscow. On the other hand, training by both the CPSU and CP China is indicated in at least one case involving another very high-ranking leader of the same CP. Possibly the CPSU, as the leader of the international movement, will concentrate not only on the training of Communists from the advanced countries but also on the topmost leaders of CP's from underdeveloped areas. The situation with respect to China, however, is an important one to watch. Some Latin American Communists are reliably reported to have remarked that they found CP China's experience more applicable to Latin American countries than that of the CPSU.

2. Selection of Students

Whereas in the Satellites the dispatching of Communists to Soviet Party schools is more or less routine, within the CP's of the Free World the program of sending such trainees to the USSR varies considerably.

Satellites

Reliable defector and other information shows that a regular program exists whereby selected party functionaries from

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the Satellites are sent yearly to CPSU schools. There is also evidence that the schools of the Satellite CP's themselves are, in most instances, modeled so closely on the Soviet pattern that a student completing with some distinction a required number of years in one of the important training establishments of his own Party may—according to a prearranged program—move on to the parallel Soviet party school for "advanced" study.

While selection of a student by a Satellite CP obviously entails consideration of his known loyalty and proven ability, there is also reason to believe that Satellite parties are expected to send each year a significant "quota" of students to CPSU schools. Evidence suggests that the Satellite parties feel it incumbent on themselves not only to hold up their end of this program numerically, but also to prove to the CPSU, through proper selection of students for specific schools, their ideological and political astuteness. It is suspected, however, that often the emphasis is on quantity rather than quality in the selection of students.

Indicative of how this matter is handled by the Satellites is a 1955 document of one Satellite Party. According to this document, the Party Secretariat had as one of its tasks the "organizing and selection of students" for study in various CPSU establishments. This task included not only the composition of the student delegation, but also the determination of which ones should attend what schools and whether they should take a one-year course or a three-year course. The "responsible section" (presumably of the Central Committee apparatus) was listed as the Section of Leading Party Organs, which was the cadre section of the Party.

Other CP's

Without the uniform conditions which obtain in the Satellites, in other CP's the program of sending party functionaries to CPSU schools has been influenced by a variety of factors: the extent of the training program of the indigenous party itself; the general availability of trained leaders; the conditions of legality or circumscription under which the party operates; its financial ability to help underwrite transportation costs of students; its importance and potential both internally as well

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as in relation to other CP's; the dictates of specific party programs requiring greater specialized training; the desire to establish closer contacts with the CPSU; and many other factors. Both seasoned party functionaries as well as youthful, less experienced activists have been included in this program.

Available evidence pointing to an expanding training program for foreign Communists in the USSR relates largely to Western European and Western Hemisphere CP's, and, in several cases, appears to be the first program of any consequence since World War II. It is possible that an acceleration in such training is also taking place for CP's in the Middle and Far East, but there is little evidence available as yet to indicate this. With respect to Western Europe and the Western Hemisphere, however, current evidence shows that while both seasoned functionaries as well as youthful activists continue to be included in the training program, there appears to be a deliberate effort—and on a greater scale than heretofore—of sending to CPSU training establishments the rising generation of future party leaders. This evidence is strikingly similar in several widely separated countries.

From one country, for instance, nineteen party functionaries departed earlier this year to continue their Party training in the USSR. Of these, over ten were born in the middle or late 1920's. From another country, nine functionaries are presently receiving training in the USSR; of these, over seven were born in the middle or late 1920's. From still another country it is reliably reported that over twenty-five party activists are attending a special school in the USSR. They are believed to be in this same general age group. In yet another country, eight party functionaries are reliably reported to have returned after an extended period of training in the Soviet Union. Several of these returnees are known to hold positions of importance in the middle echelon of party leadership. In the case of two other countries, there is an interesting parallel in the reports that the son of a high party official in each country was among the youths selected to receive party training in the USSR. The selection of rising younger functionaries is apparent in other information relating to trainees scheduled to begin their training in the USSR this summer.

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Students attend short-term refresher courses as well as undergo long-term training. A six-week course (or "42-day course") is evidently attended by some of the better qualified foreign Communists whose stay in the USSR is thus of a comparatively short duration. The youthful or middle echelon Communists remain for longer periods, and are apparently selected for courses of specific duration before their departure. A course of one and a half years appears to be the most common, but reliable reports also show that there are courses of one-, two-, and three-year periods. One group of students from the same country may contain trainees scheduled for courses of varying lengths.

It is evident that the procedure followed in the selection of specific trainees for Soviet Party schools varies from country to country and even within the same country. Some trainees are chosen on the basis of their proven organizational skill in party work. Others are reportedly selected from among those who have progressed through the hierarchy of the sectional, provincial, inter-regional and national schools of their own party. Some find themselves at a CPSU school because it became prudent for them to leave their own country. Others, who hold positions of responsibility in their party, attend courses in the USSR in order to enhance both their skill and their prestige. Still others are believed to be the deliberate choice of present party leaders in order either to bolster their own position through the creation of a Moscow-trained cadre having a personal loyalty, or to rid themselves temporarily of functionaries causing party dissension.

While the bulk of evidence suggests that the actual selections of trainees are made by the foreign CP itself (with CPSU concurrence obtained afterwards), a report received earlier in 1957 referred specifically to an invitation which had been received by four youthful cadre workers in one country to attend a special party school in the USSR. It is not yet evident whether this indicates a new trend and the CPSU itself is beginning to exercise greater influence and control over the selection of foreign Communist trainees for Soviet Party schools. But such a development would be in line with a CPSU desire to reaffirm its supremacy over the Communist movement and to ensure the loyalty of the best and most active elements within the foreign CP's.

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3. Arrangements for Students

Evidence suggests that for the most part the foreign Communist trainees experience considerable isolation while attending Soviet Party schools. Although one report indicates very clearly that even after a stay of three years in the USSR, a returning trainee had a good knowledge of political and Party events which had taken place in his native country during his absence, this case may be unusual. Developing dissension in his Party at home caused his recall from the USSR in order that he could bolster the current Party leadership; obviously he had to be briefed about events, and this may have been simplified by the fact that in many of his courses in the USSR he was taught by members of his own party. In another case, that of a Satellite CP, it is known that the party leadership was disappointed to find its returning trainees out of touch with the facts of life in the country and by and large too theoretical, with little "contact with the workers."

Evidence about the physical isolation of the foreign Communist trainees in the USSR is more conclusive. Not only are they apparently removed from general contact with the Soviet community, they are also kept apart from visiting members of their own party—even those from their home town—whose Party business does not take them to the school. This situation may stem in part from the demanding regime of the schools themselves, but is more likely the result of the stringent security measures which have always characterized Communist training.

Little information is available about arrangements made to handle correspondence between the trainees and their families. Probably such arrangements are dictated by the situation of legality or circumscription in which the national party operates as well as the circumstances surrounding the individual trainee's travel and cover. One case is known where a mailing address was available to a trainee's family. Letters could be sent to him in his true name and addressed to a specific post office box (Pochtovyi Yashchik) in Moscow. In another case, reports indicate that no arrangements were made—the trainee, apparently on his own, sent letters home via fellow party members who were returning before he did. He is reliably reported to have received no correspondence from his family.

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Despite the isolation while in school, however, one very interesting trend has been apparent in the case of at least some Communist trainees from countries not too distant from the USSR. Some of the trainees are being returned to their own countries at regular intervals in order to enjoy a vacation. Several trainees from at least two countries are known to have returned home for a few weeks at Christmas time. Some are also known to have had summer holidays at home last year. Available information is not yet sufficient to conclude that this will be a general pattern, but for countries within easy flying time of Moscow it appears a likely possibility.

In the case of Communist trainees from countries too far removed from the USSR to make it feasible for them to return home for vacations, only one report is available to indicate holiday arrangements. It may, however, reflect the general procedure. According to this report, the students are given summer vacations at a resort in the Crimea.

Travel arrangements for trainees also vary according to party and individual. In one group of trainees from the same country, for instance, it is reported that some held proper passports with the required visas but that one or two in the group left the country without any documentation. In the case of some trainees from another country, it is reported that their passports were not valid for the USSR; they simply went on to the Soviet Union from the nearest country permitted by the passport and any Soviet/Satellite stamps or visas were provided for by loose cards rather than on the passport. In other cases the trainees travel quite openly and directly. It is obvious that infinite variations are practiced to effect the travel of various trainees. It is also obvious that the CPSU must underwrite a considerable portion of the over-all expenses involved.

Available evidence indicates that once within the USSR the trainee's passport is turned over to Soviet authorities and is returned to him only on his departure from the country. One case may be cited of the travel documentation provided for a returning trainee. When ready to leave the Soviet Union, he received back his passport which had been doctored to show visas and proper entry-exit stamps for various Western European countries as well as two return trips to his own country and a passport

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renewal—all this falsified by the Soviets in order to conceal his continuous stay in the USSR.

It might also be noted that in the case of certain trainees from several Latin American countries, it is reliably reported that these may frequently return to other than their native countries. This situation probably results from the fact that they cannot return to their own countries. It also attests to the Soviet ability to provide documentation enabling these individuals to enter and take up residence in countries other than their own.

4. Schools and Courses

In the great majority of cases it is impossible to determine the specific Party school in the USSR which is attended by any one individual trainee or group of Communists from other countries. Evidence is often vague and nomenclature confusing. Certain schools are known to exist and the presence of foreign Communists has been reported at each. It is also quite possible that there are other schools which have not yet been identified. At the present time, this subject can only be treated in terms which have general application.

Three training and research establishments of the CPSU are located in Moscow and are controlled directly by the CPSU's Central Committee. These are the Higher Party School, the Academy of Social Sciences, and the Institute of Marxism-Leninism. Foreign Communists have been reported at each. In addition, it has been reliably reported that a special school for foreign Communists is located in a suburb of Moscow called Pushkino (possibly also known as Pushkin or Pushkinskoye). Finally, training of foreign Communists from regions of the Middle East and Far East has been reported in cities in the USSR adjacent to these areas. The most persistently reported school of this sort is at Tashkent where Arab cadres are allegedly trained.

Confusion in the identification of Soviet schools appears to be due in part to the various names and descriptions given to the courses studied and also to the different lengths of time which may be involved. It is suspected that the programs of any

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one of the known Soviet schools is flexible enough to account for these factors.

Higher Party School

As the name implies, this school is the apex of the regular CPSU schooling system; it also includes establishments at lower divisions of the Party organization. It was established originally in 1939 and was reorganized in 1946. The rector of the school is still believed to be N.R. MITRONOV, although he was last identified in this position in 1955. For several years the address of the school has been: 6 Miusskaya Floshchad, D-47, Moscow.

The chief purpose of the Higher Party School is the training of Party and Soviet administrators, as opposed to theoreticians. The training encompasses both ideological and political matters as well as practical courses which would be particularly useful to those responsible for Party and government administrative procedures and activities. It is undoubtedly for this reason that Satellite Communists in particular have been reported at this school, although reliable reports have also placed other foreign trainees at the Higher Party School. There is some reason to believe, however, that at least some of those non-Orbit Communists may have been attending certain special lectures at the school rather than participating in a regular course. It is possible, though no other evidence supports this, that a separate division exists in the school in order to handle specialized training for non-Orbit Communists.

While it is difficult to know to what extent the school's regulations are applicable to non-Soviet students, they may be useful in helping to pinpoint future identification of the school. According to an announcement made in 1956, for instance, the school has changed from a three-year to a two-year course of study. It was also announced that no entrance examinations are given for admission to this school. Students are admitted on the basis of recommendations by provincial, territorial or Central Committees within the union republic CP's. Students must not be over forty years of age, and must have had a higher education and experience in administrative, Party, Soviet or journalistic work.

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The following subjects were listed by the Large Soviet Encyclopedia of 1951 as those studied at the school: history of the CPSU; history of the USSR; general history; political economy; dialectical and historical materialism; logic; international relations and foreign policy of the USSR; economic and political geography; Russian language and literature; foreign language; foundations of the Soviet economy and the practical direction of the branches of the national economy; Party organization; State law and Soviet organization; and journalism for individual newspaper editors.

According to a defector report, some foreign Communists from non-Orbit parties attended certain lectures at the Higher Party School which covered not only world history but also military tactics, including guerrilla warfare. This is the only indication that courses of this sort might be given at the Higher Party School.

Academy of Social Sciences

This is the leading CPSU establishment for the training of theoreticians, and should not be confused with the USSR Academy of Sciences which is a state institution involved in scientific research in all fields. The purpose of the Academy of Social Sciences is to train theoreticians for work in central Party institutions, the Central Committees and other Committees within the union republic CP's, as well as for work in higher scientific establishments in the USSR. Although the Academy of Social Sciences was opened in 1946, it is actually a revival of the former Communist Academy which functioned in the 1920's and early 1930's.

Because of its importance as a Marxist institution, the Academy's instructors are high-ranking CPSU officials and the foremost theoreticians and propaganda specialists in the Soviet Union, including those in the social science sections of the Academy of Science. The Academy's present rector is believed to be Prof. (fnu) DOROKHOV who apparently succeeded F.V. KONSTANTINOV in this position in late 1955 when KONSTANTINOV became chief of the Agitprop Section of the Central Committee, CPSU. In 1956, the address of the Academy appeared as: Sadofaya-Kudrinskaya 9, Moscow.

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While there is reliable evidence to show that Satellite CP trainees are sent to the Academy of Social Sciences for study, there is no firm evidence to indicate that other foreign Communists are also trained there. Nevertheless, in view of the Academy's purpose and importance, it is felt that selected foreign Communists very probably do receive "advanced" theoretical training either in regular courses at the Academy or in special courses arranged specifically for the foreign students. When foreign Communists are reported to be receiving "advanced political instruction" in the USSR—and with no other indication as to school or course—they may well be enrolled at the Academy. Satellite Communists are sent on a regular basis, frequently coming directly from the Social Sciences school attached to their own parties.

The length of courses at the Academy has been variously described. Pravda in 1954 stated that the period of study was three years. Party Life in 1956 listed the term of study at four years. A report about Satellite students stated that they would study at the Academy for a period of five years. There may also be shorter, intensified courses related to certain current problems or trends affecting Marxist theory.

While it would not be expected that regulations affecting Soviet students would be particularly applicable to foreign Communists, they may reflect something more about the Academy. Soviet aspirants are considered from among those Party members, recommended by various committees in union republic CP's, who have been in the Party at least five years, who are not more than forty years of age, who have completed their higher education, had experience in Party work, research and training, and have published articles and pamphlets. Admission is handled on the basis of competitive examinations in which the aspirant may be queried in a field of his chosen specialty, the principles of Marxism-Leninism, and in a foreign language. He is also required to present an essay dealing with his selected specialty.

Although students apparently concentrate over the whole period on a single subject only, the Academy's curriculum is a wide one. Fields of study have been listed as: political economy; the economics and politics of foreign countries; theory of the state and law; international law; international relations; history of the USSR; history of the CPSU; world history; dialectical

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and historical materialism; Western European philosophy; logic; psychology; and literature and art. It has been reported that the Academy is broken down into two departments: a Department of History, which is concerned with Party History; and a Department of International Relations which prepares specialists in this field for central Party establishments, research institutions and work on theoretical publications.

Institute of Marxism-Leninism

It is more difficult to describe accurately this CPSU establishment. It is the Party's top research institution on the problems of Communism, and it has a long history. It was once called the Institute of Marx-Engels-Lenin (as a result of the merger of the Lenin Institute and the Marx-Engels Institute), and for a few years was called the Institute of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin. In 1956 its name was changed to its present one.

The Institute is publicized largely for its responsibility to collect, study and publish documents and historical materials pertaining to the founders of the Communist Party and to their leading continuers in the CPSU. Stress is laid on its "research" work into the history of the CPSU, but this work also includes the study of the history of the international workers' movement. The CPSU boasts that the Institute is unique in the world for its store of reading material on the history of Marxism and international socialist and Communist workers' movements. While its role as a research institute tends to confuse its status as a "training school", it apparently functions as both. Even before World War II it was reliably reported that through "research" work in the Institute, specialists were developed in various fields of political science—in the science and history of the class struggle in Russia and in various other countries of the world. In the mid-1930's, the Institute reportedly catered to foreigners on special recommendation.

Within the last few years, several reports have referred to foreign CP functionaries who have studied recently at the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, but these reports are of undetermined reliability. In one case, the secretary general of a CP was reported to have spent two months at the Institute attending "courses" which particularly stressed political, economic and

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social developments affecting his own area of the world. Reportedly this led, while still at the Institute, to the formulation of a new Party policy better designed to meet those developments. Other recent reports about the Institute have referred to courses concerned with organizational problems, youth movements, socialist legislation, mass agitation, infiltration tactics, etc. It is impossible to evaluate these reports on the basis of what is known about the Institute. It is suspected, however, that several reports may have confused the type of work done at the Institute of Marxism-Leninism with what was once taught at the International Lenin School during the Comintern period. Nevertheless, it is believed that foreign Communists do in fact study at the Institute.

Indicative of some of the work done by the Institute was the announcement earlier this year that the Institute would publish a new magazine, Problems of History of the CPSU (Voprosy istorii KPSS). The basic functions of the magazine were stated to be "to present scholarly treatment of problems of history of the CPSU, particularly of the period since the October revolution; to help teachers and propagandists in studying and teaching Party history in higher educational institutions and in the Party educational system; to review new literature on problems of Party history, and to elucidate the history of fraternal Communist and Workers' parties and the international workers' movement."

In 1952, the address of the Institute was listed as: 5 Ulitsa Marksa i Engel'sa, Kiyevskiy Rayon, Moscow. For several years the director has been G.D. OBICHKIN, and the deputy director STEPANOVA. The Chairman of the Division on History of the CPSU was identified in 1956 as M.D. STUCHEBNIKOVA. Two members of the research staff also identified in 1956 were LEVINA and ROMANOVA. The importance of the Institute to the CPSU is reflected in some of its previous directors. These have included M.B. MITIN, V.S. KHUZHKOVA, and P.N. POSPELOV.

In addition to the Institute located in Moscow, the union republics and some territories in the USSR have branches of the Institute. In this connection, it should be noted that one report has stated that although the Institute of Marxism-Leninism in Moscow is the highest training establishment for members of one foreign CP, the next in importance is a branch

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of the Institute located in an area of the USSR closer to the specific foreign country.

Pushkino (or Pushkin or Pushkinskoye)

Recent information indicates that a special school for foreign Communist trainees from one non-Orbit CP is located in a suburb of Moscow called Pushkino. The location and other descriptions available of this school suggest that it may be the same establishment reported several times during the 1940's where foreign Communists received training. In the earlier reports it was generally called Pushkin. The location may be similar to that of Pushkinskoye, described as one of the locations of the Comintern for a brief time in the early 1940's.

The Pushkino school has no other specific address but reportedly is near a military airfield and is disguised as a convalescent home--a description similar to the "rest home" at Pushkin reported in 1943 as being actually a CP school for foreign trainees.

Although the Pushkino school is now reported to be used for Communist trainees from one country only, it apparently is equipped to handle a considerable number of students. Another interesting factor reported about this school is that some courses --possible many--are taught by functionaries of the foreign CP to their fellow countrymen. Although some lectures are given by CPSU experts, the use of foreign instructors may stem in part from language considerations as well as the large number of trainees who are reportedly attending the school.

Recent information also indicates that the Pushkino establishment is administered by the staff of the Higher Party School. The courses of study apparently center on three main subjects: philosophy, political economy and history of the CPSU. According to a reliable source, the courses of study given at the Pushkino school are duplications of courses given to other foreign Communist trainees who may be attending the Higher Party School.

It has been reported that there has been some discontent among the trainees with certain aspects of the courses given

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at Pushkino. Discontent has centered on a feeling that the courses overstressed the CPSU and underemphasized the CP's of other countries. Reportedly, the curriculum is to be modified in this respect.

Other

On the basis of available information, it seems very possible that other establishments, similar to Pushkino, may exist for some other nationality groups. One source believed that, in addition to Pushkino, special courses for Communists from some countries are given at other schools, located in outlying areas, all of which are administered by the staff of the Higher Party School. These Communists would probably come from CP's having large memberships and a particularly active program of sending trainees to the Soviet Union. Without the same requirement for a special establishment, trainees from other CP's probably attend regular training establishments, such as the Higher Party School.

Reports are often so vague and confusing that it has not been possible to identify specifically any other schools where foreign Communists may be receiving special Party training within the USSR. References to an Institute of Communist Studies, a Study Center, a Lenin Academy, a Karl Marx School, a Lenin Institute and a "special Party school" are but some of the various names received in reports. They may refer to some of the establishments discussed above or they may refer to schools which it has not yet been possible to identify.

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APPENDIX A

(Subjects covered in a recent course
in the history of the labor movement
given to foreign Communists in the
USSR)

THE INDUSTRIAL WORKER MOVEMENT

THE FORMATION OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKER CLASS AND THE BEGINNING
OF ITS STRUGGLE FOR CLASS INTERESTS
The formation of the proletariat

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE TWO ASPECTS OF THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

THIRD LESSON

Brief characterization of the Utopian socialists
Saint Simon's concepts
Fourier's concepts

THE CHARTIST MOVEMENT

ROBERT OWEN (1771-1851)

THE ORIGIN OF SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM. THE EARLY YEARS OF MARX
AND ENGELS' REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITY.

THE ROLE OF THE PROLETARIAT IN EUROPEAN REVOLUTIONS DURING 1848-
1849

The 1848 revolution in France
The 1848-1849 revolution in Germany

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THE INTERNATIONAL INDUSTRIAL WORKERS MOVEMENT IN THE FIFTIES AND SIXTIES OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY AND THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL
Brief characterization of the economic and political conditions during the fifties and sixties, especially in Europe.
The industrial worker movement in England during the fifties and sixties of the nineteenth century.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE ENGLISH TRADE UNIONS

THE INDUSTRIAL WORKER MOVEMENT IN FRANCE DURING THE FIFTIES AND SIXTIES.

HOW THE INDUSTRIAL WORKER MOVEMENT IN GERMANY PROCEEDED

CHARACTERISTICS OF THESE DOCUMENTS /The Manifesto or political program and the Statutes/

The activity of the International up to 1870

THE PARIS COMMUNE
Causes of the Paris Commune
Marx' stand regarding the Paris Commune
The final period of activity of the International

THE INTERNATIONAL INDUSTRIAL WORKER MOVEMENT FROM 1870 to 1917
Brief characterization of the period
The industrial worker movement in England from 1870 to 1917
The English industrial worker movement in the years preceding WW I.

ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKER MOVEMENT IN THE U.S.A. BEFORE WW I.
Industrial worker organizations in the U.S.A.
Points common to the American and the English industrial worker movement.

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Special characteristics of the French industrial worker movement during the period from 1871 to 1917

Certain facts and stages of the French industrial worker movement.

Special characteristics of the German industrial worker movement during the period from 1870 to 1914

SPECIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE RUSSIAN INDUSTRIAL WORKER MOVEMENT

The influence of the revolution in Russia in 1905 on the international revolutionary movement.

THE CREATION, DEVELOPMENT, AND BANKRUPTCY OF THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL

THE SIGNIFICANCE IN WORLD HISTORY OF THE GREAT SOCIALIST OCTOBER REVOLUTION

The influence of the Great Socialist October Revolution on the world industrial worker movement.

INFLUENCE OF THE SOCIALIST OCTOBER REVOLUTION ON THE INTERNATIONAL LABOR UNION MOVEMENT.

THE INDUSTRIAL WORKER MOVEMENT IN GERMANY DURING THE FIRST STAGE OF THE GENERAL CRISIS OF CAPITALISM.

The labor union movement

Revolutionary demonstrations by the German proletariat in 1919, 1921, and 1923.

The German Communist Party tactics.

Experiences gained by the events in January.

THE INDUSTRIAL WORKER MOVEMENT IN ITALY DURING THE FIRST STAGE OF THE GENERAL CRISIS OF CAPITALISM

The economic and political conditions in Italy after WW I.

THE INDUSTRIAL WORKER MOVEMENT IN FRANCE DURING THE FIRST STAGE OF THE GENERAL CRISIS OF CAPITALISM

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THE 1918-1923 PERIOD OF REVOLUTIONARY GAINS

STRUGGLE FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKER AND POPULAR UNITED FRONT IN FRANCE

The basis on which the Popular Front was established and its consequences.

THE INDUSTRIAL WORKER MOVEMENT OF ENGLAND DURING THE FIRST STAGE OF THE GENERAL CRISIS OF CAPITALISM

THE INDUSTRIAL WORKER MOVEMENT IN THE U.S.A. DURING THE FIRST STAGE OF THE GENERAL CRISIS OF CAPITALISM

THE INDUSTRIAL WORKER MOVEMENT AND THE NATIONAL LIBERATION OF CHINA

(First stage of the general crisis of capitalism)

The economic and political conditions in China after WW I
Political regime of China (1911 and 1912)

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY

THE EVENTS OF FEBRUARY 1923

History of the Communist International

Second congress of the Communist International

Lenin thesis on the agrarian problem

Sixth congress of the Communist International and the program of the C. I.

The struggle of the Communist International for the popular united front—

The seventh congress of the Communist International.

THE INTERNATIONAL INDUSTRIAL WORKER MOVEMENT DURING WW II

THE STRUGGLE FOR UNITY IN THE INTERNATIONAL INDUSTRIAL WORKER MOVEMENT

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THE STRUGGLE FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE WORLD FEDERATION OF
TRADE UNIONS—OR THE STRUGGLE FOR UNITY OF THE INTERNATIONAL
INDUSTRIAL WORKER MOVEMENT
Preparation and holding of the World Trade Union Congress in
Paris.

THE SESSION OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE WORLD FEDERATION OF
TRADE UNIONS

THE ROLE OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKER CLASS IN THE ESTABLISHMENT
OF THE POPULAR DEMOCRACY REGIMES IN THE BUILDING OF THE
FOUNDATIONS OF SOCIALISM IN EAST EUROPE AND EAST (word un-
intelligible)
The Peoples Republic of China
The Communist Party of China

THE INDUSTRIAL WORKER MOVEMENT IN ENGLAND DURING THE SECOND STAGE
OF THE GENERAL CRISIS OF CAPITALISM
Conditions of the industrial worker class after WW II

CONDITIONS OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKER CLASS

CURRENT ACTIVITIES OF THE ENGLISH COMMUNIST PARTY
The industrial worker movement in the U.S.A. after the War.

THE INDUSTRIAL WORKER MOVEMENT IN FRANCE DURING THE SECOND STAGE
OF THE GENERAL CRISIS OF CAPITALISM

THE ITALIAN WORKER MOVEMENT DURING THE SECOND STAGE OF THE GENERAL
CRISIS OF CAPITALISM

THE STRUGGLE FOR UNITY IN THE INTERNATIONAL WORKER MOVEMENT
Changes within the industrial worker class
Conditions of the worker class in capitalist countries

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CHARACTERISTICS OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT AFTER
WW II

INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST ORGANIZATIONS

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT
The influence of the socialist parties of Europe

THE STRUGGLE FOR UNITY IN THE INTERNATIONAL LABOR UNION
MOVEMENT

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APPENDIX B

(Portions of the text utilized during the course in the history of the labor movement and disseminated to the foreign Communist trainees)

[The translation is presented as received, except for the correction of misspellings]

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT AFTER WORLD WAR II

That period is characterized by a considerable reinforcement of that movement: Before the war there were 43 CP's in 43 countries, the CPSU among them with 4,202,000 members (minus those of the USSR there were 1,724,000 members). By the end of the war there were already 76 CP's in that number of countries consisting of almost 20 million militant members. At present, the number of CP's is the same but with almost 30 million Communists of which 25 million are in the nations of the socialist field (including the Yugoslav Union of Communists). The CP's of the capitalist nations consist of slightly more than 3 millions and the colonial and dependent nations have a little more than one million and one-half.

This illustrates the development of the International Communist Movement which should be taken into account that in the several capitalist nations, since the war, the number of CP members has lessened as compared to the end of the war period. The reduction of the number of members took place in 11 nations of Western Europe. Only in Italy has the CP maintained the increased number of its members. These losses are due to a series of causes. The largest CP in a capitalist country is the Italian CP, next is that of Indonesia consisting of 1.5 million members and sympathizers (similar to the candidates [to Party membership]; they are the vast majority but the reactionary [governments] persecute both the members and the sympathizers in the same way).

During this period, the majority of the CP's greatly strengthened themselves in the organic and ideological sense.

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A considerable number of CP's reviewed their programs, adopted new ones, and took into account the new conditions of the world and in their respective countries. However, all the CP's did not go through that postwar period without making errors. For example, the CPUSA went through a crisis during this period as a result of which the Party was almost liquidated. In Japan during the post-war years, there was also a serious crisis in the CP, resulting in a Party scission. At present, during the last two years, the Japanese Communist Party has consolidated itself a great deal, organically and ideologically.

The CP's of the capitalist nations operate since after the war with much more difficulty than previously. For example, the CP of India operates under new complex conditions: a group of Party members was and is in favor of full support of the Nehru policy. A short time ago, the CPI was completely and entirely opposed to Nehru, calling him an "imperialist agent, a traitor", etc. This stand is reflected in the CPI Program. At present, some comrades go to the opposite extreme. But the majority of the Communists take a better stand: support the government with reservations. For example, support the foreign policy of the government (which can be supported almost without reservations); but as to the domestic policy, this support should not be complete. Support the government measures which are beneficial to the masses: the building of the social economy and for example, the communal agricultural economy, the creation of large state industry, the limitation of the role of foreign capital, etc. Is it that the domestic policy of the government should be supported without reservations? At first glance, these reservations seem superfluous but Nehru says he is a socialist. But what kind of socialism is it? Nehru is a representative of the large Hindu national bourgeoisie. And the policy of his government doubtlessly expresses the interest of that bureaucracy. But, for example, what is Nehru's stand toward the CPI? He considers the CP to be the most reactionary one of India because they are tied to ideas which arose in Europe and for the Europe of a hundred years ago. Even for Europe those ideas are antiquated, but for India these ideas are entirely inapplicable. The Nehru regime has created a series of laws against the workers: for example, one of the laws authorizes the police to arrest any person without making any previous investigation. Another law, concerning the press, makes every person opposing the government

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subject to a trial in court.

Nehru is following a policy of salary freezing which is in fact an actual salary reduction. During the war years and after, the cost of living has risen to three or four times that of the past but the salaries have been barely raised by 20 percent.

Let us consider the matter of the agrarian reform in India. It has already dragged for 10 years, beginning essentially with the Nehru government, but still 20 percent of the fallow lands remain in the hands of latifundia owners, and the lands expropriated from the latifundia owners pass into the hands of wealthy peasants. Such a reform is clearly of a capitalist nature. This agrarian policy cannot be supported without reservations.

Let us consider certain administrative measures. There used to be 500 principalities in India headed by feudal maharajas. Now these principalities were liquidated and their territories were converted into provinces. This is a progressive phenomenon but the provinces continue to be headed by the princes. Thus the step taken by the government barely restricts to a certain degree the rights of this princes. Thus, the CPI tactics must be very flexible. We must support without disguise the progressive measures of the Nehru government but we must also explain to the masses the measures against their interests. This is difficult to do since the Nehru government and the National Congress Party has much influence over the masses.

The CPI has about 100,000 members. Its influence is much less than that of Nehru's party but it is precisely on this plane that the Party should apply its line.

At present, the Party is correcting a series of mistakes it had made and increases its influence.

In several countries, there isn't a CP yet. In others there are several of them. In Egypt, there are five CP's but neither of them can consider itself a national organization. In Burma there are two but there is a continuous struggle between them. This is almost at the point of armed warfare... At present, they seem to be moving toward fusing. Under these conditions the

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government is free to carry out any policy.

INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST ORGANIZATIONS

The comintern was dissolved in 1943. In 1947, the cominform was established. It consisted of the Popular Democracies' parties and of some capitalist countries' parties. The objectives of that organization are defined by its name. It was not a directing organ but one for the exchange of experiences and information between the Communist and workers' parties and to co-ordinate to a certain extent their activities. There were three sessions of the bureau: 1947, 1948, and 1949. These sessions play an important role in the carrying out of the task set before the bureau. But the bureau made an error concerning the Yugoslav CP.

The resolution regarding the Yugoslav CP which was adopted in 1948, was in general correct in regard to the CP's errors in the fields of domestic policy, economic policy, etc. of the Party. However, it was wrong to expel the Yugoslav CP. By 1949, the resolution on the Yugoslav CP was completely wrong in that it called the leadership of the CP murderers, imperialist agents, and so forth. Such resolutions not only did not help the CP to correct its mistakes but made them worse. These resolutions were repealed by the CP and Workers' Parties which adopted them.

Now, the bureau no longer exists but this does not mean that the exchange of experiences between the CP's had stopped or that there is no co-ordination among the CP's. For example, at the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU, fifty CP delegations attended. Obviously, the delegates did not just come to attend the Congress; they exchanged opinions and information. There were other means of exchanging opinions, experiences, etc.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT

Unfortunately in several capitalist countries, there are socialist parties alongside of the CP's. In some countries they are very influential. At present, the Socialist International brings together 10 million members of the Socialist Parties and

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the Social Democrats (of which six million are of the English Labor Party). It is made up of 36 parties; 24 of them are European. In Asia there is another organization of the socialist parties. In 1953, the Asiatic Socialist Conference was held, attended by delegates from 11 countries. The socialist parties have 10 million members. However, there does not exist unity of action between the Socialist International and the Asiatic Socialist parties' organization.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE SOCIALIST PARTIES IN EUROPE

Let us see by comparing the influence of the CP's and the socialist parties in Europe in parliamentary elections and the parliaments.

<u>Nation</u>	<u>Communist Deputies</u>	<u>Socialist Deputies</u>
France	151	94
Italy	143 + 75 (Nenni)	19 (Saragatti)
England	0	274
West Germany	0	151
Belgium	6	158
Holland	9	44
Austria	4	73
Finland	43	54

As can be seen, relationship with the social democrats is very important. Besides, in several nations, the socialists participate or head the governments: France, Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, Austria, Denmark, Norway, Finland and others.

The socialist parties have an international organization: already toward the end of the war (1944) an effort was made at the initiative of the laborites, to bring about a rebirth of the former Socialist International. In that year a Conference was held at which it was decided to begin the preparatory work to that end. In June 1946, a Conference of 19 socialist parties was held in England which established the Liaison and Information Bureau. Thus, after the war, the socialists were the first to establish an international organization and this was formed while there was no Communist organization. That same year, 1946, at

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another conference a resolution was passed by which the Bureau's name was changed to Advisory Committee. In 1947 at the socialist party conference, the Advisory Committee was replaced by the International Socialist Conference Committee. This Committee may be characterized as divisionist due to its activities. For example, due to their collaboration with the CP's, the Socialist Party of Poland, the Social Democrats of Czechoslovakia, and the Nenni Italian Socialist Party were excluded from the Committee.

On the basis of the Committee, the Socialist International was established in 1951. In the Statutes there is stated that the organization aims at insuring "that all the people will have the right to determine the economic destiny and to create a society in which free men will work together as equals". The Statutes define as follows, "Socialism is the movement in protest against the evils of capitalism." The Program and the Statutes provide for the peaceful incorporation of capitalism into socialism.

An important event in the development of the socialist movement was the Asiatic Socialist Conference. It met in January 1953 with representatives of socialist parties from 11 nations: India, Pakistan, Malaya, Indonesia, Japan, etc. The delegation of the Socialist International was headed by Attlee. These colleagues of the Socialist International planned to guide the work of the Conference along the lines of the Socialist International. If before WW II, the Socialist International leaders ignored the socialist and workers' movement in the colonial and dependent nations, now they aimed at placing it in a subordinate position.

But the opinions of the Asiatic socialists were in conflict with those of the Socialist International. The Asiatic socialists refused to support any of the existing military coups. They condemned racial discrimination, the repressive English colonial policy. They pronounced themselves in support of the agrarian reform, and the Conference established its own Asiatic Bureau and decided not to adhere to the Socialist International. Thus there is not unity of action between the European and Asiatic socialists. Likewise, there is not unity of action on numerous matters within the Socialist International itself. The leaders of certain socialist parties express their opposition to the

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Socialist International Statutes and tactics and act accordingly. For example, the Statutes of the French Socialist Party state that it is a revolutionary party, that the party takes upon itself the task of struggling for socialism; the statutes state openly that the aim of the party is to liquidate capitalist property. It is true that the statutes do not recognize the necessity of the dictatorship of the proletariat nor the leading role of the proletariat in these socialist transformations. However, the statutes of the French Socialist Party adopted in 1954 are very different from those of the Socialist International.

There are other international socialist organizations: the World Zionist Socialist Party, consisting of 125,000 members; the Socialist International Organization of Jews (similar to the Bund) consisting of 25,000 members, which drafts its minutes in Hebrew; the Socialist Union of Central and Western Europe, consisting of emigrants from popular democratic countries, makes a lot of noise as the only means of getting on the spy and divisionist market etc.

THE STRUGGLE FOR UNITY OF THE INTERNATIONAL LABOR UNION MOVEMENT

Toward the end of WW II, the organized unity of the international labor union movement was achieved by the establishment in October 1945 of the World Federation of Trade Unions. The WFTU brought together its members without regard to race, nationality and so forth. It was made up of industrial workers of different tendencies. It united the majority of the world's organized workers. There were about 67 million members in October 1945. Only the A.F. of L., of the large labor union organizations, did not belong to the WFTU.

However, this did not mean that the establishment of the WFTU ended the need to struggle for unity of the international movement.

The A.F. of L. remained outside and its reactionary leaders did everything to divide the WFTU in conjunction with the British Trade Union Congress leaders so as to create a split within the WFTU. They attempted to put under their influence

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the progressive labor union organizations by forcing them out of the WFTU. They did likewise to split the labor union movement in the countries where it was unified.

Thus, the struggle for unity of the international labor union movement continued being a vital problem even after the establishment of the WFTU.

Meanwhile, the danger would not have been so great, if the threat of a split was made just by the A.F. of L. leaders. The danger was that the threat also came from within the WFTU.

How did this danger manifest itself? Why did the reactionary leaders of the CIO and of the Trade Unions join the WFTU? We have already seen: (1) under pressure from the masses (2) They thought it was possible to control the WFTU and lead it along the path that they wished. However, from the founding of the WFTU, the main role was that of the progressive forces. Then the reactionary CIO and Trade Union leaders, instead of giving up its objectives, they proceeded to carry on a policy of sabotage and two-faced conduct within the WFTU. They discussed and voted on the resolutions but did not carry them out. For example, after the Paris Congress and after the election of executive organs, the WFTU apparatus had to be organized: typists and so forth. The delegations had already left. Few remained in Paris. Citrine, the president of the WFTU, told Saillant not to employ the officers until he had examined the list of their names. They sent the list from London to Citrine. A month sent by and no reply arrived. Mail accumulated. Saillant went to London but he was detained for a month by Citrine. In addition, the Statutes of the WFTU contains a provision calling for the organization of trade departments annexed to the WFTU (textile workers, railroad workers, metal workers and so forth—the Professional Department). The organization of these professional departments should have put an end to the International Trade Secretariats' activities. In the task of carrying on the negotiations with the secretariats, Schevenels and Citrine did everything to prevent the establishment of the professional departments. This negotiation went on up to 1947. The longer the negotiations lasted, the more insolent the international secretariats became. Finally they proposed that they should have total independence from the professional departments regarding the executive organs of the

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WFTU so that these organs could not influence the designation of the directors of these departments. The assets should be supplied by the WFTU but not controlled by it.

But the Soviets, the French and Italians agreed to such proposals. The two secretariats were amazed. It was a complete surprise and they finally went back on their proposals. In fact, they wanted a split. Next, the Congress of Paris decided to establish the department for colonial and dependent countries annexed to the WFTU. Braught, the CIO representative who was one of the vice-secretary generals of the WFTU, was designated to head it. He did not even leave Washington and up to 1948 the Department was not organized.

Another example: the Paris Congress resolved that a labor union conference of the Asiatic nations should be called and up to 1949 this remained just on paper due to the reactionary leaders of the CIO and the TUC. Another example: the WFTU decided to unify the German labor union movement but the reactionary leaders of the CIO and the TUC frustrated this effort.

The policy of sabotage and two-faced conduct went on until October 1947. At this point, American Imperialism passed over to open activity for achieving its plans for world domination and the world reactionary groups started the open offensive against the progressive forces. In May 1947, the Communists were expelled from the governments in France and Italy. The agents of bureaucracy intensified their activity. An effort was made to split the CGT, the Italian labor union movement. The same was the case in Mexico and Latin America. Under these circumstances, the reactionary elements within the WFTU also became active.

In October 1947 a regular executive bureau of the WFTU was set up in Paris. Here Carey, the CIO representative proposed that the Bureau should approve the Marshall Plan as a philanthropic American enterprise but the majority of the members of the Bureau rejected this proposal. But the representative of the TUC did not give his enthusiastic individual support which displeased his American masters.

In December 1947, a secret conference was held in Washington with representatives of the State Department, the

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A.F. of L. and the (British) Foreign Office (headed by Ernest Bevin). At this Conference, a detailed plan for the splitting of the labor union movement was prepared. Immediately after the conference, the TUC general council demanded the calling of an extraordinary session of the Executive Bureau of the Executive Council of the WFTU to approve the Marshall Plan.

The representatives of the Soviet, French and Italian labor unions pointed out that in April 1948 a regular session of these organs was to be held. However, the divisionists of the CIO and the TUC, together with those of the A.F. of L. held in March 1948 at London the International Conference of Labor Unions. By then 16 nations had accepted the Marshall Plan. Only the labor union representatives of these countries and the representatives who approved the plan were invited to the Conference. For example, in France the CGT was not invited; just the Force Ouvriere.

This so-called international conference was of a secret nature. It elected the so-called Co-ordination Committee to co-ordinate the activities of the participating labor unions. It was called without the consent of the WFTU and outside of its framework. In fact, its objective was to establish the bases of the new organization that opposed the WFTU, increasing the division within the international labor union movement. In addition to calling the Conference, the reactionary leaders attempted to influence the Soviet labor union leaders. On 20 February and at the beginning of March, Carey of the CIO was in Moscow. What for? (1) to supply the bureaucratic press with material showing that the USSR and the Soviet labor unions obstructed the American efforts to help the nations which suffered during the last war. (2) To attempt to persuade the All Union Central Council of Trade Unions to approve the Marshall Plan. (3) To attempt to reach an agreement with the All Union Central Council of Trade Unions on the changes of the WFTU leadership beginning with the replacement of Louis Saillant. There were two days of interviews. Obviously, he did not succeed in convincing the leaders with the All Union Central Council of Trade Unions. He assumed that after this failure to agree, he would return to the USA and open an anti-Soviet campaign. The All Union Central Council of Trade Unions sent a document stating the stand of the Council concerning the Marshall Plan (on his third or fourth day in Moscow.) It

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was an important political document describing the Marshall Plan—it aimed at submitting to the USA, the nations that would "help". It said that the USSR did not object to government help. It favored help which would not imply economic and political submission of the helped countries. Besides this, it said that the All Union Central Council of Trade Unions did not object to the discussion of the Marshall Plan at the WFTU but it could not be imposed by force on this organization; that the Marshall Plan should not be a pretext to split the WFTU. The statement was very helpful for unmasking the Marshall Plan.

In addition to this defeat of Carey in his negotiations with the All Union Central Council of Trade Unions, he tested the ground for the replacement of Saillant. He asserted that the Secretary General of the WFTU should belong to one of the large powers and that France was no longer one of them. Only the other three remained: United States, USSR and England. To agree to this proposal would mean that the English or the Americans would elect their representative against the USSR. With this post in their hands they would then take over the rest.

But the Soviets told him that France was still a great power so Carey suffered another defeat.

In April and May 1948, the regular session of the Bureau and the Executive Committee of the WFTU were held. Here again a new attempt was made to modify the executive organs of the WFTU. Saillant was again attacked. They called for his replacement. Second, they brought up the matter of Leon Jouhaux, a vice-president of the WFTU who as a member of the CGT left the CGT and established the Force Ouvriere. According to the Statutes this was wrong and the CGT presented as candidate Alain le Leap. The representatives of the English and American labor unions wanted to keep Jouhaux but as a representative of the Force Ouvriere. Third, the Toledano affair was also brought up. His elimination from the Executive Bureau was demanded by the English and Americans.

They wanted key posts on the directing organs. These efforts failed. The resolutions taken by the sections of the Bureau and the Executive Committee were of a progressive nature. At the final session, the Anglo-Americans voted together with

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the progressive leaders. They passed to an open break. In September 1948, was the regular session of the Executive Bureau. Only six members appeared—USSR, France, Italy, England, the United States and Holland. Absences. Heated discussions on the matter. Arthur Deakin and Carey did everything to slander the USSR and the Popular Democracies. The voting was always three against three. They only achieved the postponement of the matters until the next session. Only one resolution was passed unanimously: the payment of the living allowance to the members of the Bureau during their work.

This showed that they followed the road to the split.

In January 1949 in Paris regular session of the Executive Bureau—seven representatives. The seventh was from China (Communist). Now 4 to 3. At this session, Deakin presented a proposal to the General Council of the TUC that the WFTU should end its activities. It should not call meetings of the executive organs of the WFTU and should dismiss the officers. The documents and funds should be delivered to a Committee of Trustees. Within a year, the Committee should decide if the WFTU should or not be buried.

Deakin justified himself as follows: The WFTU expresses itself on matters which do not concern it. It is a branch of the Cominform. The Communists control it. Soviet labor unions have a dictatorship. The CIO and the Dutch supported the proposal. The others opposed it.

Kuznetsov refuted Deakin's arguments. He showed causes why the WFTU could not work to its full capacity and what obstructed its activity. The statement showed that they were underhand activities of the Anglo-Americans. The statement said: how could 6 or 7 persons decide on an organization established by the representatives of millions. And they proposed to deal with this at the session of the Executive Committee of the General Council, including the World labor union congress. This proposal was supported by Divittorio, Saillant and Lu-ni-Si (sic) but Deakin said that if its proposals were not approved, he would withdraw from the WFTU. Thus the WFTU split from which there broke off the English labor unions, the CIO and the Dutch reformist labor unions. Later they were followed by organizations of other

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nations. Obviously the division of the WFTU was a serious defeat for the international proletariat. At the same time, the departure of the divisionists favored the WFTU activity. The WFTU became more cohesive and active. The divisionists thought that when they left, the Executive Bureau would be disorganized. But le Leap entered into this. A session of the Executive Committee was also called.

The most important resolutions passed by the Bureau and by the Executive Committee after the session and the most important measures were first, after January 1949, the WFTU began to participate more actively in the preparation of World Congress of Peace Partisans. The WFTU activity in this field was in the field of statements—Now the active participation in all preparatory committees of the Congress of Peace Partisans: Second, finally, the problem of admission of new members was solved. The labor unions of Japan, Ceylon, East Germany and others joined the WFTU. Third, the WFTU began to organize in a practical manner the professional departments. Fourth, the calling of the Second World Congress of Labor Unions in Milan was made possible. It was a struggle for Peace. Several resolutions were passed for the active participation of the WFTU in the struggle for peace, the commemoration of the struggle for peace day, organization of the peace committees in the enterprises, and so forth.

All the subsequent activities of the WFTU were directed at this purpose: the defense of peace. The present reduction of international tension is to a great extent due to the activity of the WFTU. The second Congress struggled for unity of the world labor union movement.

Especially since the Second Congress the Anglo-American labor union leaders attempted by different means to organize their own international organization. In December 1949 they achieved this. It is the IOFTU. Why free? Free from Communism... but not from imperialism.

It is directed by markedly reactionary Americans. According to the figures provided by this organization, it has 54,000,000 members. The largest organizations are the A.F. of L., the CIO and the TUC which have millions of members. Next come the Belgians, Canadians, Australians, and so forth which

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have hundreds of thousands. It is convenient to point out that it does not reflect that to which the mass of its members aspire. Its leaders, in spite of the aspirations of the masses of the members, engage in a reactionary policy: support of the anti-Communist, anti-Soviet military blocs and of active support of internal reactionary policy of the several governments.

Within the ICFTU a sharp clash between the various tendencies took place. In 1955 the ICFTU held a congress. The American press said that the congress was held under the anti-Communist sign. The hero of the Congress was Meany, the anti-Communist president of the A.F. of L. Meanwhile, the anti-Communist resolutions passed by the congress caused dissatisfaction among various member organizations. For example, the central organ of the Belgian Socialist Party severely criticized the anti-Communist policy of the ICFTU. It wrote, "We will not permit the use of our labor union organizations in behalf of military blocs under the anti-Communist heading." The same stand was taken by Hindu labor union leaders, members of the ICFTU. This was also so in other countries. The ICFTU leaders reject all proposals for unity of action of the WFTU.

At present there exists another international organization: the International Confederation of Christian Trade Unions. It is small and is influential in Italy, France, Belgium and a few other countries. Outside of Europe, it has little influence although it is striving to establish a base among Catholic workers, especially in the USA.

It has ties with the Vatican.

One of the most important events in the history of the WFTU has the holding in November 1949 of the labor union conference of Asiatic nations at which were delegations representing Asia and Oceania. There were also many African representatives. The conference played an important role in the development of the Asiatic labor union movement. The delegates exchanged experiences and learned of the experiences of the labor union movement in China and the USSR.

According to the delegates themselves, they learned a great deal at the conference.

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At the conference was established the Liaison Bureau between the Asiatic organizations and those of the WFTU.

A similar conference was organized in Dakar. There also, a similar Liaison Bureau was established. These conferences and all the WFTU activities for the fostering of the labor union movement of colonial and dependent nations greatly promoted the development of the labor union movement in these nations.

In Latin America, the functions of Liaison Bureau are exercised by the CTAL.

The Third World Labor Union Congress met in October 1953, in Vienna. The importance of this congress is that important theoretical matters were taken up in the resolutions. In the reports by Saillant and by Divittorio, the following theoretical matters were taken up: the proletariat cannot limit itself to the struggle for the immediate interests of its own class. It should act in defense of the interests of other classes, the peasants and the intermediary layers of society. The labor union work should assume a general popular nature. In the struggle for national independence and for peace, the proletariat may side with the national bourgeoisie. However, the struggle of the proletariat for the interests of all the people should be based on the alliance between the industrial workers class and the peasant class. The report by Divittorio emphasized repeatedly the idea that the proletariat should have a leading role in this movement of all the people. In the discussion of the subject on the conditions of the labor union movement in colonial and dependent nations, the Congress took practical steps to help this movement. And the above-mentioned theoretical thesis should provide the base for that movement.

The Congress assigned to its executive organs the preparing the labor union bill of rights. This program—the bill of rights—was prepared after the Congress by the Executive Committee and the General Council of the WFTU. In fact, this program is a program for the struggle for democratic rights: (1) the rights of the workers to establish their own labor union, co-operatives, and political organizations; the right of industrial workers to have their own labor unions; the right to represent the industrial workers in the enterprises. (3)

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the right to strike (4) the right of assembly in the factories and enterprises (5) the right of the labor unions to engage in international activities. Besides these there were other demands.

This program is the program for struggling against the attack by anti-labor union reactionary forces.

The most important current problem of the labor union movement is the unity of the international labor union movement. The main road is the struggle from below for unity on the national level. This, obviously, does not exclude unity on the international scale; that is, from above. But, up to now, there have not been positive results in the struggle for that unity due to the resistance by the ICFU leaders and the International Confederation of Christian Trade Unions. IFCTU.

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